The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXXV

The Crisis of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate

TRANSLATED BY GEORGE SALIBA

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Volume XXXV
Translated and Annotated by
George Saliba

The period covered in this volume is one of the most tumultuous periods of Islamic history. In it, al-Ṭabarī details with great success the intricate events that shaped real political power in Sāmarrā and Baghdad during the middle of the ninth century, laying bare the dynamics through which the army generals—who were mainly of Central Asian Turkish extraction—consolidated their grip on the caliphate. The political maneuvering that enabled them to pass the reins of real power to their descendants, creating a dynasty parallel to the "legitimate" caliphal dynasty, is also clearly revealed.

SUNY Series in Near Eastern Studies
Said Amir Arjomand, Editor

SUNY PRESS

State University
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ISBN 0-7914-0627-X
90000>
9 780791 406274

THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXXV

The Crisis of the ᶜAbbāsid Caliphate

THE CALIPHATES OF AL-MUSTAᶜĪN AND AL-MUᶜTAZZ

A.D. 862–869/A.H. 248–255

SUNY

SERIES IN NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

Said Amir Arjomand, Editor

The History of al-Ṭabarī

Bibliotheca Persica
Edited by Ehsan Yar-Shater

The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XXXV

THE CRISIS OF THE ᶜABBĀSID CALIPHATE

translated and annotated
by

George Saliba
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

State University of New York Press

The preparation of this volume was made possible by a grant from the Translation Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency; and by the Persian Heritage Foundation.

Published by
State University of New York Press, Albany

For information, contact State University of New York Press, Albany, New York
www.sunypress.edu

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Ṭabarī, 838?–923.
The Crisis of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate.

(The History of al-Ṭabarī = Ta'rīkh al-rusul
wa'l-mulūk ; v. 35) (SUNY series in Near Eastern studies)
Translation of extracts from: Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk.
1. Islamic Empire—History—750–1258. 2. Abbasids—
Early works to 1800. 3. World history—Early works to
1800. I. Saliba, George, II. Title. III. Series:
Ṭabarī, 838?–923. Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'al-mulūk.
English ; v. 35. IV. Series: SUNY series in Near

Acknowledgements

In 1971 the General Editor proposed to the UNESCO to include a translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* in its Collection of Representative Works. UNESCO agreed, but the Commission in charge of Arabic works favored other priorities. Deeming the project worthy, the Iranian Institute of Translation and Publication, which collaborated with UNESCO, agreed to undertake the task. After the upheavals of 1979, assistance was sought from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The invaluable encouragement and support of the Endowment is here gratefully acknowledged.

The General Editor wishes to thank sincerely also the participating scholars, who have made the realization of this project possible; the Board of Editors for their selfless assistance; Professor Franz Rosenthal for his many helpful suggestions in the formulation and application of the editorial policy; Professor Jacob Lassner for his painstaking and meticulous editing; and Dr. Susan Mango of the National Endowment for the Humanities for her genuine interest in the project and her advocacy of it.

Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of

the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Each volume has an index of proper names. A general index volume will follow the publication of the translation volumes.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

The period covered in this volume is that of the upheaval following the assassination of Caliph al-Mutawakkil, who ruled from 847–861. Within eight years or so, three caliphs came to power only to be murdered by the same group of army officers that murdered al-Mutawakkil. The first of these caliphs, al-Muntaṣir, who survived barely a year, falls outside the scope of this volume. The caliphate of al-Musta'īn (862–866) and that of al-Mu'tazz (866–869) are the concern here.

The period covered by al-Ṭabarī highlights the accelerated breakdown of centralized authority and the formation of local petty-states within the larger 'Abbāsid polity. Appointed by the caliph, and nominally loyal to him, the local governors were, in effect, semi-autonomous in conducting their affairs. Moreover, the caliphs had become totally dependent on the slave army that had initially been recruited to support caliphal authority—so dependent, that the military leaders decided the fate of the central authority. The commanders, mainly of Central Asian Turkish extraction—such as Waṣīf and Bughā—survived the successive changes of rulers, and often they were actively involved in plotting the downfall of a particular caliph. The caliph has been duly immortalized by the following lines:

[Behold] a caliph in a cage,
between Waṣīf and Bughā

Repeating what they say to him,
as the parrot itself would repeat.

In this period the caliphate, as an institution, was undergoing its critical test in the face of the military power which was by then based on professional foreign recruits. The tension between the "legitimate" power, as represented by the caliphate, and the "real" power, as represented by the military, had not yet resolved itself into a complementary mode of sharing authority; each party seems to have been totally preoccupied with plotting to control the other, or to overcome it if need be.

As Waṣīf and Bughā made and broke caliphs, they created a political and military infrastructure that paralleled the formal government. They groomed their sons for political power, handing over to them the military command they once held. Within the seven years covered in this volume, control of the regular army was passed on from Waṣīf and Bughā to their respective sons Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf and Mūsā b. Bughā. Having assimilated the lessons of clientage, the two power-brokers tightened their alliance by marital bonds when Bughā's daughter was given in marriage to Waṣīf's son.

The most significant episode of the time was the civil war between al-Mustaʿīn and al-Muʿtazz. Economically, the conflict was, at the very least, extremely disruptive. The description of the events is rich with references to the cost of the war. We are even told the details of payments made to soldiers to fight, or to guard somebody, as well as the costs for an entire campaign. We are also informed that the total cost of government for a single year had become equal to the tax revenues (*kharāj*) of the whole realm for two years. Moreover, the professional soldiers fighting in the mid-ninth century no longer conducted war for ideological or religious reasons as did earlier Islamic armies. They fought for private gain. Indeed, their demands are echoed with every event. The caliph was always asked to produce additional service pay and bonuses. As traditional loyalties eroded, the central authorities, with increasing frequency, gave approval to political and monetary arrangements over which they could exercise no effective control. Critical positions were bought and sold, further accelerating the decline of centralized authority.

Such is the larger picture contained within these pages. The careful reader will also note myriad details that reflect the more prosaic aspects of life, for, here as elsewhere, the narratives of al-Ṭabarī are rich in allusions to daily life.

The Caliphate of al-Mustaʿīn

[1501]

The Caliphate of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muʿtaṣim, Known as al-Mustaʿīn. His Patronymic was Abū al-ʿAbbās

The Account of His Rule and the Time Allegiance Was Rendered to Him

It was reported that when al-Muntaṣir died—that was on Saturday afternoon, the fourth of Rabīʿ II, 248 (June 7, 862)—the mawlās[1] gathered at the Hārūnī[2] (Palace) on Sunday. Among them were Bughā the Elder, Bughā the Younger, and Utāmish. They took the oath of allegiance from the commanders of the Turks, the Maghāribah and the Ushrūsaniyyah. It was ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abd al-Aʿlā al-Iskāfī, the secretary of Bughā the Elder, who took the oath

1. The word *mawlā*, pl. *mawālī*, has several meanings in Arabic. In this period it refers mainly to the military personnel who were employed by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and were mostly of Central Asian origin.
2. That is, the palace built by al-Mutawakkil (847–861), Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 276.

from them. They were to accept whomever was acceptable to Bughā the Elder, Bughā the Younger and Utāmish, a procedure already arranged by Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb. The group took the oath; they had consulted with one another and were averse to having any of al-Mutawakkil's sons declared caliph, for the commanders had killed his father and were afraid that they would, in turn, be murdered by any of al-Mutawakkil's sons who assumed the caliphate. But Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and those mawlās who were present concurred in choosing Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'taṣim. saying, "The caliphate should not depart from the offspring of our patron Mu'taṣim." Previous to this, they had mentioned some of the Banū Hāshim. They rendered the oath of allegiance to him at the time of
[1502] the second *'ishā'* prayer on Monday evening, the sixth of Rabī' II, 243 (June 9, 862). He was then twenty-eight years old,[3] and his patro-
[1503] nymic was Abū al-'Abbās. Al-Musta'īn took Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb as his secretary, and Utāmish as his wazīr.

On Monday, the sixth of Rabī' II (June 9, 862), Abū al-'Abbās went

3. Note the account of Ṣūlī of the election of al-Musta'īn which is included by the Leiden editors: "I received an account on the authority of Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar al-Akhbārī —— 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-A'lā al-Iskāfī: When al-Muntaṣir Billāh died on Saturday afternoon, the fourth of Rabī' II, 248 (June 7, 862), the *mawlās* gathered together including Bughā the Elder and Utāmish. They took an oath from the commanders of the Turks and Maghāribah that they would accept whomever they themselves accepted. They did swear to that. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn said: I was taking the oath of allegiance from them as arranged by Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb. They were of the unanimous opinion that they would not elevate any of al-Mutawakkil's sons to the caliphate, lest he assassinate them in revenge for his father's blood. They then agreed upon Aḥmad b. al-Mu'taṣim saying: 'The son of our lord al-Mu'taṣim.' Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Munajjim came to Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and Bughā asking: 'Would you give authority to a man who thought that he is more worthy of the Caliphate than even al-Mutawakkil, and that you kept him from it, and that he is indeed worthier than both al-Mutawakkil and al-Muntaṣir? How then do you expect him to respect you? Wouldn't you rather obey a man who honors you?' Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Munajjim had done so on account that Aḥmad b. al-Mu'taṣim was a friend of al-Kindī the philosopher, and al-Kindī himself was an enemy of Muḥammad and Aḥmad the two sons of al-Munajjim. They all accepted his opinion except for Bughā the Elder who remarked. 'We will appoint someone whom we fear and respect for then we shall remain with him. If we brought someone who fears us, we would then compete among ourselves and kill one another.' It was then that they mentioned Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Mu'taṣim, saying: 'He is a descendant of our Lord al-Mu'taṣim, and (the Caliphate) should not be taken away from them. If we hold him in high esteem he will be indebted to us. They kept on persuading Bughā the Elder until he accepted. Then they brought Aḥmad b. Muḥammad on the eve of Monday, the sixth of Rabī' II (June 9, 862), who was twenty-eight years old.'"

to the Public Audience Hall (Dar al-ʿĀmmah),[4] by way of the ʿUmarī[5] Road, between the gardens. They had dressed him in long robes and in the caliphal raiment.[6] Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq carried the spear (*ḥarbah*)[7] in front of him; this took place before sunrise. Wājin al-Ushrūsanī arrived at the gate of the Public Audience Hall by way of the main thoroughfare leading to the public treasury (*bayt al-māl*).[8] After arranging his troops in two lines, he took his position in line together with the notables among his men. Present at the hall were the men of rank (*aṣḥāb al-marātib*). These included the sons of al-Mutawakkil, the ʿAbbāsids, the Ṭālibids and others of stature. While they were stationed in this manner—an hour and a half of the day had already passed—shouting was heard from the direction of the main thoroughfare and the markets.[9] Suddenly, there were fifty horsemen of the Shākiriyyah[10]—it is reported that they were men of Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh[11]—accompanied by a group of Ṭabariyyah cavalry and mixed forces (*akhlāṭ al-nās*). They were joined by the hotheads and the rabble from the market, amounting to a group of about one thousand men. Drawing their weapons, they shouted "Victory to Muʿtazz! (*yā Muʿtazz yā manṣūr*)"[12] and charged the two lines of the Ushrūsaniyyah formed

4. For this translation see Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 365, and Le Strange, *Lands*, 54. This Dār was also sometimes called Dār al-Sulṭān. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 255.

5. The reference is to al-Qaṣr al-ʿUmarī, built by ʿUmar b. Faraj for al-Muʿtaṣim. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 258.

6. For the caliphal dress, see Ṣābi', *Rusūm*, 73–74.

7. Originally it was the spear of the king of Abyssinia. It was given as a gift to Prophet Muḥammad and was passed thereafter from one caliph to the next as a sign of authority. See Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 118–119.

8. For the thoroughfare leading to the *bayt al-māl*, see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 255, 260, and Sāmarrā'ī, *Sāmarrā fī Adab*, appended map where the main street runs parallel to the Tigris in a north-south direction.

9. For the arrangement of the markets around the main thoroughfare, see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 260.

10. The probable origin of the word is from Persian *shāgird*, meaning apprentice. See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 276. But sometimes it is used to mean simply mercenary soldiers. See Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, II, 130.

11. Ṭabarī, Cairo ed., IX, 188 mentions the arrival of this Muḥammad from Khurāsān in the year 237 (851/852) and his appointment as al-Mutawakkil's lieutenant over Baghdad in that year. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, V, 92–93, and Kutubī, *Fawāt*, III, 403–4. The text here refers to the possibility that Muḥammad's men may have been still loyal to the descendants of al-Mutawakkil and were here objecting to al-Mustaʿīn's usurpation of their power.

12. *Yā . . . yā manṣūr* is obviously a battle cry, rendered in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 117, as *nafīr yā manṣūr* (call to arms! O victorious one!).

by Wājin. A great melee ensued, and the men collided with one another. Some of the Mubayyiḍah[13] guarding the Public Gate (Bāb al-
[1504] ʿĀmmah) broke rank and joined the Shākiriyyah, thus increasing their number. At this the Maghāribah and the Ushrūsaniyyah attacked, and, routing the rebels, they forced them onto the great road (*darb*) named after Zurāfah and ʿAzzūn.[14] A group of them charged the followers of al-Muʿtazz, and, having defeated them, they pursued them to the residence of Azzūn b. Ismāʿīl's brother where the latter held a narrow part of the road. Al-Muʿtazz's followers held their ground there, whereupon the Ushrūsaniyyah fired arrows at some of them and engaged them with swords. As the battle raged between them, the followers of al-Muʿtazz and the rabble proclaimed "God is Great!" Many of the protagonists fell, slain, as the battle continued until the third hour of the day. The Turks then departed, having rendered allegiance to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muʿtaṣim. They left (by the road that runs) beside the ʿUmarī (Palace) and the gardens. Before leaving, the mawlās obtained the oath of allegiance from all those present at the Public Audience Hall, including, among others, the Hāshimites and the men of rank. Al-Mustaʿīn departed by way of the Public Gate for the Hārūnī (palace) where he spent the night.

The Ushrūsaniyyah (also) went to the Hārūnī; both factions had lost many men. A group of Ushrūsaniyyah had entered some private quarters, whereupon the rabble overwhelmed them and took their shields, weapons, coats of mail and their mounts. The rabble and the plundering mob entered the Public Audience Hall en route to the Hārūnī (Palace). They freely pillaged the storehouse containing weapons, shields, coats of mail, swords, and *thaghrī* bridles. None of them refrained from looting a coat of mail or a lance that happened
[1505] to be lying by.[15] They also pillaged the residence of Armash b. Abī

13. The name *Mubayyiḍah* was commonly used to describe a non-orthodox sect believing in the possibility of God's incarnation. See Sāmarrāʾī, *al-Ghulūw*, 143, on the authority of Isfarāyinī, *Tabṣīr*, 70. They seem to have been recruited into the army as a sect.

14. The reference is probably to Zurāfah, al-Mutawakkil's chamberlain (see Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 394 and *FHA*, III, 555) and to ʿAzzūn, al-Muʿtaṣim's boon companion (see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 163).

15. The text reads *rubbamā marra aḥaduhum bi-l-jawshan wa-l-ḥirāb fa-akthara*, which is difficult to understand with the previous *fa-akthara*.

Ayyūb, accompanied by the sellers of barley juice (*fuqqāʿ*),[16] taking shields and headless spears of bamboo. As a result, spears and shields became plentiful in the hands of the rabble, the bath attendants and the boys who delivered groceries.[17] A contingent of Turks, including Bughā the Younger, then came at them from the direction of Darb Zurāfah and forced them away from the storehouse, killing several of them and detaining a few.

Both factions now departed, having suffered many losses. But the rabble began confiscating the weapon of any Turk passing by the lower reaches of Sāmarrā while heading through the thoroughfares towards the Public Gate. They killed a contingent of Turks near the residences of Mubārak al-Maghribī and Ḥabash the brother of Yaʿqūb Qūṣarrah.[18] Most of those seizing these weapons were reportedly sellers of barley juice and dried fruits (*nāṭif*), bath attendants, water bearers and the rabble from the markets. They continued in this way until midday. The prisoners at Sāmarrā became agitated on that day (as well), and a group of them managed to escape. The receipt of military pay (*ʿaṭā'*) was now made contingent on swearing allegiance to the new Caliph, and the document of the oath of allegiance was sent to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir on the day when allegiance was sworn to al-Mustaʿīn. The document reached Muḥammad on the second day; it was brought to him by a brother of Utāmish, when Muḥammad was out on a walk. Muḥammad's chamberlain sent Utāmish's brother to his patron after informing him of Ibn Ṭāhir's whereabouts. At this, Muḥammad returned immediately and sent for the Hāshimites and for the commanders and troops. He granted them all their allotments (*waḍaʿa lahum al-arzāq*).

In Rajab, 248 (August 31–September 29, 862), word reached al-Mustaʿīn of the death of Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir in Khurāsān. Al-Mustaʿīn now appointed Ṭāhir's son Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAb- [1506]
dallāh b. Ṭāhir as governor of Khurāsān. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh

16. *Fuqqāʿ* is barley juice according to *Lisān*, VIII, 526, and those who sold such items were considered of low class. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 261.

17. Some occupational groups were apparently beginning to make themselves felt as especially threatening to the central authority. For more information on their interaction, see Dūrī, *Abḥāth*, 15–17. For their social position, see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 261.

18. The vocalization is unclear.

was given control of Iraq as well as the Ḥaramayn[19]; (he was put in charge of) security (*shurṭah*), and (he was appointed) vice-ruler (*muʿāwin*) over the Sawād.[20] The appointment of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir over Khurāsān and the adjoining districts took place at the Jawsaq Palace[21] on Saturday, the twelfth of Shaʿbān (October 11, 862).

Bughā the Elder fell ill in Jumādā II (August 2–30, 862) and was visited by al-Mustaʿīn in the middle of the month. Bughā died that very day, and his son Mūsā was given all his duties, that is, all his father's duties, in addition to (heading up) the postal service (*barīd*).

In this year, Unūjūr the Turk arranged (*wajjaha*) to kill Abū al-ʿAmūd al-Thaʿlabī in Kafartūthā on the twenty-fourth of Rabīʿ II (June 27, 862).

In this year, ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān went on pilgrimage. A Shiʿite messenger called Shuʿayb was sent after Ibn Khāqān to inform him that he was being banished to Barqah[22] and was thus prohibited from continuing the pilgrimage.

[1507] In Jumādā I, 248 (July 3–August 1, 862), al-Mustaʿīn bought from al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad everything they possessed except for one item valued at one hundred thousand dīnārs which al-Muʿtazz kept. The latter and Ibrāhīm (al-Muʾayyad) were to receive annual revenues (*ghallah*) of eighty thousand dīnārs.[23] And on Monday, the

19. Usually refers to Mecca and Medina. See *EI*², III, 175.

20. Ṣūlī's account as given by the editors of the Leiden edition: "Al-Mustaʿīn appointed his son Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir over Khurāsān, and his uncle Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh over Iraq. He also added Fars to the latter's responsibilities. He had previously intended to appoint Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh over Khurāsān, but al-Mustaʿīn was told that he was their most distinguished person (i.e. the Ṭāhirids) and is like a hostage for them. He was then inclined to appoint ʿAbdallāh's offspring of whom Sulaymān, Ṭalḥah and ʿUbaydallāh were in Khurāsān. Muḥammad was afraid, however, that they would seize authority (for themselves) and councelled al-Mustaʿīn to appoint his nephew. Thus the two police departments were specifically given to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh; his nephew Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir had no responsibility for them." The two police departments refer to the security arrangements for East and West Baghdad. See Dūrī, *Abḥāth*, 17; *FHA*, III, 563.

21. The Jawsaq Palace was one of the most famous palaces built by al-Muʿtaṣim. For the literary and historical sources concerning this palace, see Sāmarrāʾī, *Sāmarrā fī Adab*, 225–228; Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, 301; Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 265; and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 175. The architectural details are discussed in Creswell, *Architecture*, 259f.

22. This is a reference to Barqah in North Africa (modern Tunis). See Aboulfeda, *Géographie*, 127, and Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, 91.

23. This was obviously their pay-off to drop the claim to the caliphate.

twelfth of Ramaḍān (November 9, 862), all the possessions of al-Mu'tazz and al-Mu'ayyad, including buildings, residences, estates, palaces, household furnishings and so forth were bought from them for twenty thousand dīnārs. This sale was witnessed by (legal) witnesses (*shuhūd*), notaries (*'udūl*)[24], and judges, among others. It is said that (only) their estates were bought and that Abū 'Abdallāh (al-Mu'tazz) retained properties producing a cash revenue of twenty thousand dīnārs per annum, while Ibrāhīm (al-Mu'ayyad) had access to a yearly revenue of five thousand dīnārs. What was bought from Abū 'Abdallāh was worth ten million dīnārs and ten pearls, and from Ibrāhīm three million dirhams and three pearls. Bearing witness to the transaction were the jurists (*fuqahā'*) and judges. The purchase was made in the name of al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad[25] on behalf of al-Musta'īn in the month of Rabī' II, 248 (June 4–July 2, 862). The two ('Abbāsid princes) were then jailed in the (detention) room of the Jawsaq Palace, and were entrusted to Bughā the Younger. The Turks had intended to kill them when the rabble and the Shākiriyyah rioted, but they were stopped by Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb who said, [1508]
"They have committed no fault and the rioters are not their followers but, rather, the followers of Ibn Ṭāhir. Better that they be jailed." Therefore, they were jailed.

In that year, the mawlās were angered by Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb; in Jumādā I (July 3–Aug. 1, 862) his possessions as well as those of his sons were confiscated (*ustuṣfiya*), and he was banished to Crete.

In this year, 'Alī b. Yaḥya was relieved of his command of the Syrian frontier and was appointed governor of Armenia and Ādharbayjān. This was in Ramaḍān, 248 (October 29–November 27, 862).

In this year, the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ rioted against Kaydar b. 'Ubaydallāh, al-Musta'īn's governor of the city, and expelled him from it. Al-Faḍl b. Qārin was then sent against them. Using his guile, he captured the rebels and killed a great number of them. He destroyed their (defensive) wall and he took one hundred of their notables to Sāmarrā.

In this year, Waṣīf—he was residing on the Syrian frontier—was

24. The translation "notaries" follows Schacht, *Introduction*, 194.

25. This al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad was originally in charge of the dīwān of the estates (*ḍiyā'*) under al-Mutawakkil. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 290, n. 9. After an illustrious career in several government jobs he became the wazīr to al-Mu'tamid, ibid.

taking part in the summer campaign when word reached him of al-Muntaṣir's death. Nevertheless, he invaded the Byzantine territory and conquered a fortress called Farūriyyah.[26]

In this year, al-Mustaʿīn appointed Utāmish over Egypt and the West (al-Maghrib), and he took him as his wazīr.

In this year too, Bughā al-Sharābī was appointed over Ḥulwān, Māsabadhān, and Mihrajān Qadhaq,[27] and al-Mustaʿīn assigned Shāhak al-Khādim to administer his apartments, kitchen, harem, treasury, and his private affairs. The Caliph favored him and Utāmish over all others.

[1509] Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Zaynabī.

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26. For a parallel description of this campaign, see Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 300.
27. These are districts east of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 202, 228.

The Events of the Year 249

(FEBRUARY 24, 863–FEBRUARY 12, 864)

Among the events taking place were Ja'far b. Dīnār's raid during the summer campaign and the capture of a fortress and several storage depots (*maṭāmīr*). 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Aqṭa' sought permission from Ja'far to march to a district of the Byzantine territory. The former granted his request, and 'Umar set off with a great force drawn from the people of Malaṭiyah. He was met by the emperor, who commanded a huge army, in a place called Arz of Marj al-Usquf.[28] The emperor engaged 'Umar in a fierce battle, and many men were killed on both sides. The Byzantines then surrounded 'Umar—there were fifty thousand of them. He was killed together with two thousand Muslims on Friday in the middle of Rajab (September 3, 863).

In this year, 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī was killed.

The Reasons for His Death

It is reported that when the Byzantines killed 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh, they went to the frontier of al-Jazīrah, eager for the lands and the Muslim strongholds (*ḥaram*) there. When the news reached 'Alī b.

28. Marj al-Usquf is known from other sources to have been in Asia Minor. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 138.

Yaḥyā, (who was) on his way back from Armenia to Mayyāfāriqīn,[29]
[1510] he rushed to meet them at the head of a contingent drawn from Mayyāfāriqīn and al-Silsilah.[30] As a result, some four hundred men were killed. This took place during Ramaḍān (October 18–November 16, 863).

On the first day of Ṣafar, 249 (March 26, 863), the troops and the Shākiriyyah rioted in Baghdad.

The Reasons for This

When news concerning the death of ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Aqṭaʿ and ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī reached the people of Baghdad (*Madīnat al-Salām*), Sāmarrā and the rest of the nearby Muslim cities—the two were strong defenders of Islam, men of great courage who elicited enormous praise along the frontier districts they served—people became exceedingly distressed. Their hearts were heavy, especially because one had died so quickly after the other. Moreover, they had already been appalled by al-Mutawakkil's death at the hand of the Turks and by the way (in which) the latter assumed control over the affairs of the Muslims. The Turks killed any caliph they desired to kill and appointed in his stead whomever they wished, without reference to the religious authority and without eliciting the opinions of the Muslims. The populace (*al-ʿāmmah*) of Baghdad gathered, shouted out in protest and called for action. Joining them were the Abnāʾ[31] and the Shākiriyyah, who openly called for their allotments. That took place on the first day of Ṣafar (March 26, 863).

The Baghdādīs liberated the prison of Naṣr b. Mālik and freed those who were in it, as well as those who were in the masonry bridge (*qanṭarah*) near the Bridge Gate (Bāb al-Jisr).[32] Among the detainees there were the dregs of society (*rufūgh*) from Khurāsān, wretches (*ṣaʿālīk*) from Jibāl, and the Muḥammarah. They cut one of

29. Located in upper Mesopotamia, ibid., 111–112.
30. It is obviously in the area of upper Mesopotamia.
31. For this group of military personnel, refer to Lassner, *Shaping*, 129–136, 279, n.49, and 280, n.67, for further bibliography.
32. At the uppermost bridge spanning the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 178, 198.

the two (river) bridges[33] from its moorings and set the other afire, sinking its pontoons. The prison records of the detainees were looted, and the individual files were torn loose and cast into the [1511] water. They also looted the residence of Bishr and Ibrāhīm, the sons of Hārūn, Christians who were secretaries to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. All of that took place on the East Side of Baghdad, which was governed at that time by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Harthamah.

At that time, the wealthy people of Baghdad and Sāmarrā spent great amounts of their money to supply those setting out for the frontiers to fight the Byzantines. Masses of people came forward from al-Jabal, Fārs, al-Ahwāz and other districts in order to partake in the raids against the Byzantines. We received no information that the central authorities were prepared to send a military force against the Byzantines on their own account in those days, despite the actions of the latter against the Muslims.[34]

On Friday, the twentieth of Rabīʿ I (May 14, 863), an unknown group of people attacked the prison in Sāmarrā and freed everyone in it. Zurāfah was sent with a contingent of mawlās to seek the perpetrators of this act, but he was himself attacked and routed by the mob. Utāmish, Waṣīf and Bughā now rode out with the Turks for the same purpose and killed some of the mob. A boiling pot was reportedly dumped on Waṣīf; it is also said that a group from the mob hurled stones at him near al-Sarījah.[35] At this, Waṣīf gave orders to the fire hurlers (*naffāṭīn*), who cast their fire at the shops and [1512] residences in that neighborhood. I, myself, have seen that burnt-out place in Sāmarrā near the residence of Isḥāq.[36]

It is reported that on that day the Maghāribah looted the houses of some of the common people. The disturbance finally quieted down towards the end of that day. Aḥmad b. Jamīl was dismissed from his

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33. On bridges, see Lassner, *Topography*; also Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 108.

34. The text is very difficult, but this seems to be the sense of: *fa-lam yablughnā annahu kāna li-l-sulṭān fī-mā kāna min al-rūm ilā-l-muslimīn min dhālika taghyīr wa-lā tawjīh jaysh ilayhim li-ḥarbihim*.

35. The text is *al-Sharīḥah*; it should be read *al-Sarījah*, which was both a major artery of traffic and a large neighborhood. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 260.

36. Either Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm or Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā, for they both had their residence around that area. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 260.

duties in charge of security at Sāmarrā on account of the aforementioned actions by the mob and the (rebellious) troops[37] that day. Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Dārij was subsequently appointed in his place.

In that year Utāmish and his secretary Shujāʿ were killed. This took place on Saturday, the fourteenth of Rabīʿ II (June 6, 863).

The Reason for Their Death

It is reported, that when al-Mustaʿīn assumed the caliphate, he gave Utāmish and Shāhak al-Khādim control over the treasury, permitting them to do whatever they pleased. Moreover, he did the same for his own mother, refusing to deny any of her wishes; her secretary was Salamah b. Saʿīd al-Naṣrānī. Invariably, the wealth that came to the central authorities from the various regions ended up in the possession of these three people. Utāmish, who had designs on the trea-
[1513] sury, skimmed off the money that was in it. Al-Mustaʿīn had entrusted his son al-ʿAbbās to the supervision of Utāmish[38] (*fī ḥijr Utāmish*), and whatever money was left over by those three was taken for al-ʿAbbās to be spent on his needs. The supervisor of the Caliph's Bureau of Estates at that time was Dulayl who, in turn, embezzled an enormous amount of money.

The mawlās began to see that the (government's) wealth was being squandered while they themselves were hard pressed. Moreover, Utāmish, the companion of al-Mustaʿīn, who had been given full control over the caliph and his affairs, started to dispense the business of government to the exclusion of Waṣīf and Bughā. As a result, they stirred up the mawlās against Utāmish by persistently plotting against him. Finally, they perfected their plot, and the Turks and Farāghinah were incited to rise against Utāmish. On Thursday, the twelfth of Rabīʿ II, 249 (June 4, 863), a group of them from al-Dūr and al-Karkh[39] came out against him. They set up camp and then

37. The text reads *nafar*.

38. See *Lisān*, IV, 167, has *ḥjr* meaning supervision as well.

39. These two northern quarters of Sāmarrā were given by al-Muʿtaṣim to the Turks in an attempt to isolate them from the main population, thus avoiding the troubles they caused in Baghdad where they had no special quarters of their own. See Sāmarrāʾī, *Tārīkh*, I, 243–246, and Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 259.

slowly marched towards him while he was at the Jawsaq Palace[40] with al-Mustaʿīn. When word of this reached him he wished to flee but was unable to do so. He now sought refuge with al-Mustaʿīn but was refused. The mawlās maintained their positions all day Thursday and Friday; and then on Saturday they entered the Jawsaq Palace and brought Utāmish out of the place where he had been hiding. He was subsequently killed along with his secretary Shujāʿ b. al-Qāsim. The mawlās then looted the residence of Utāmish; I have reports that enormous amounts of money as well as furniture, rugs, and household items were taken from it.

When Utāmish was killed, al-Mustaʿīn appointed Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād as wazīr. Al-Faḍl b. Marwān was removed from the Bureau of Taxation, and the Caliph appointed ʿĪsā b. Farrukhānshāh to head it. Wāṣif was appointed over al-Ahwāz and [1514] Bughā the Younger was given Palestine during Rabīʿ II (May 24–June 21, 863). Afterwards, Bughā the Younger and his party became angry with Abū Ṣāliḥ b. Yazdād, and the latter subsequently fled to Baghdad. Al-Mustaʿīn appointed in his stead Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Jarjarāʾī, and he entrusted Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd to head the Bureau of Correspondence (*Rasāʾil*) Concerning that al-Ḥamdūnī recited:

> Saʿīd (now) wears the sword after living in
> rags [*dhā ṭimrayn*] with no position.
>
> Indeed, God has his own signs [*āyāt*,] this being
> one of them [that] has been bestowed [*munzalah*] upon us.

In this year, ʿAlī b. al-Jahm b. al-Badr was killed. The reason for this was that he had set out from Baghdad to the frontier. When he neared Aleppo, at a place called Khusāf,[41] a group of cavalry from the Kalb engaged and killed him. The bedouins took whatever he had with him. While in the chase he recited:

> Has the night been increased or has the dawn been
> swept away by the torrent.

40. The Jawsaq Palace, see n. 21 above was actually on the eastern bank of the Tigris and was thus very close to al-Dūr and al-Karkh. If the Turks were marching against Utāmish, they were doing so at a very slow pace.

41. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 370.

I recall the people of Dujayl, but alas! Where am
I from Dujayl?

His residence had been in the street of Dujayl.[42]

In this year, Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid was removed from his position
[1515] as head of the judiciary, and Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār al-Burjumī from al-Kūfah was appointed. It has been said that this took place in the year 250.

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 249 (January 15–February 12, 863), a violent earthquake struck al-Rayy. As a result, many houses were demolished and a number of the inhabitants were killed. The survivors fled the city and camped at the outskirts.

On Friday, the twenty-fifth of Jumādā I (July 16, 863), a violent downpour struck the populace of Sāmarrā accompanied by thunder and lightning. The clouds darkened that day and the rain kept pouring until the sun was about to set. Afterwards, the weather became calm.

On Thursday, the third of Jumādā I this year (June 24, 863), the Maghāribah[43] became agitated—they used to meet near the bridge in Sāmarrā—but on Friday they dispersed.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm the imām and governor of Mecca.

42. That is, in Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 443, and Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 111, 127–31.

43. Since the Maghāribah had their own quarters along Gulf Street (*Shāriʿ al-khalīj*) which was parallel to the eastern bank of the Tigris, Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 263, the bridge where they used to meet was probably the one spanning the Tigris near the Jawsaq Palace at the end of their quarter.

The Events of the Year 250

(FEBRUARY 13, 864–FEBRUARY 1, 865)

Among the events taking place this year was the uprising of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the one who is nicknamed Abū al-Ḥusayn. He rebelled in al-Kūfah and was killed there.

The Causes and Consequences of His Uprising [1516]

It is reported that Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, whose mother was Umm al-Ḥusayn Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, was hard pressed by his creditors. One day he met ʿUmar b. Faraj who was entrusted with the affairs of the Ṭālibids; the latter had just arrived from Khurāsān during the reign of al-Mutawakkil. The ʿAlid asked him for a grant (*ṣilah*) but ʿUmar responded harshly, whereupon Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar cursed him (*qadhafahu*) during his own assembly. Yaḥyā was subsequently imprisoned and remained incarcerated until his family vouched for him and he was set free. Following this, he went to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) where he took up residence, still suffering from hardship. Then he went to Sāmarrā where he met Waṣīf and requested that an allowance be given to him, but Waṣīf responded harshly, saying, "Why should there be an allowance for the likes of you?" Yaḥyā then left his presence.

Ibn Abī Ṭālib reported on the authority of Ibn al-Ṣūfī, the Ṭālibid, that (Yaḥyā) had come to him on the eve of his uprising and spent the night, but he did not reveal anything of his intentions. He had offered Yaḥyā food, for he had realized that he was hungry, but the latter rejected it, saying, "If we live, we will eat." Ibn al-Ṣūfī said, "I realized then that he had decided on a rash course of action." Yaḥyā left him and went directly to al-Kūfah, whose governor at the time was Ayyūb b. al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān—he ruled on behalf of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. Yaḥya b. ʿUmar gathered
[1517] a great throng of bedouins; a contingent from al-Kūfah also rallied to him. Coming to al-Fallūjah, he encamped in a village known as al-ʿUmud, where he was reported by the post master.[44] Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir then wrote to Ayyūb b. al-Ḥasan and ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd al-Sarakhsī, who was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's security officer for Iraq, ordering them to join forces against Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar. The tax collector in al-Kūfah (at the time) was Badr b. al-Aṣbagh. Together with seven men drawn from his cavalry, Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar marched to al-Kūfah. He entered the city and proceeded as far as the treasury, where he took whatever he found. This amounted to more than two thousand dīnārs; as regards silver, he found seventy thousand dirhams.

Declaring his rebellion in al-Kūfah, he now liberated the two prisons of all those who were interred, while expelling the wardens. He was met by ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd al-Sarakhsī, who was one of the Shākiriyyah. Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar struck him where his hair parted, and the force of the blow cut his face. Ibn Maḥmūd then fled together with his companions, and Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar took possession of all that Ibn Maḥmūd had in the way of mounts and money. Afterward Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar left al-Kūfah for its agricultural hinterland (the Sawād) and journeyed until reaching a place called Bustān, or some place close to it, around three *farsakhs* (eighteen km) from Junbulāʾ.[45] He did not reside in al-Kūfah. He was followed by a
[1518] group of Zaydīs,[46] and was supported as well by bedouins residing

44. The post master was also responsible for intelligence information. See Dūrī, *Abḥāth*, 18. For Fallūjah in the area of al-Kūfah, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 74.

45. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 168.

46. Originally a group of Shīʿite sects following either Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn or Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; they believed that the imām should be chosen

near that district. He was also supported by the people of the Ṭaff region and the lower Sīb all the way to Wāsiṭ.[47] The ʿAlid then established himself at Bustān while his followers grew in number.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh now sent al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab against him, attaching to al-Ḥusayn's command a group of brave and valiant officers such as Khālid b. ʿImrān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who was known as Wajh al-Fals, Abū al-Sanā al-Ghanawī, ʿAbdallāh b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah, and Saʿd al-Ḍabābī. From the Isḥāqiyyah came Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, some elite Khurāsānīs, and others. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl went out and camped opposite Hafandā,[48] facing Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar; but he and his force did not attack. Yaḥyā went off in the direction of al-Baḥriyyah, a village five *farsakhs* (thirty km) away from Qussīn.[49] Had al-Ḥusayn wished to catch up with him, he could have done so. Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar now marched along the eastern bank of the Sīb, while al-Ḥusayn did likewise on the western side, until reaching Aḥmadābādh.[50] There he crossed over in the direction of Sūrā[51] and had the troops sieze every soldier who was too weak to keep up with Yaḥyā; at the same time, they were to detain those villagers who had gone over to Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar. Aḥmad b. al-Faraj, who was known as Ibn Fazzārī, [1519] was in charge of the security of the Sīb on behalf of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. He was carrying whatever he could gather of the Sīb revenue before Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar entered Ahmadābadh. As a result, Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar did not gain possession of it. Yaḥyā marched towards al-Kūfah, and was met by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Khaṭṭāb Wajh al-Fals whom he engaged in a fierce battle near the Kūfah Bridge. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Kaṭṭāb was routed and he fled in the direction of Shāhī;[52] he was joined by al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl who encamped there.

Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar entered al-Kūfah and was joined by the Zaydīs

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by the consent of the descendents of ʿAlī. See Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, 19; Sāmarrāʾī, *al-Ghulūw*, 300–301; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, I, 207.

47. See Ṭaff in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 36, and for lower Sīb, near Qaṣr Hubayrah in the region of al-Kūfah, ibid., III, 293.

48. Ibid., V, 408.

49. Ibid., IV, 350.

50. A general term used to describe several villages or cities that were associated with some Aḥmad or other.

51. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 70–72

52. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 316.

who propagandized on behalf of the Chosen One (*al-Riḍā*) of Muḥammad's family.[53] With that, his position became solidified; for a group of people gathered to him and liked him. The mob of Baghdad held him in esteem, and it is not known that they did as much for anyone else of his house. In al-Kūfah a group of experienced Shī'ites swore allegiance to him and were joined by a mixed bag of people who were not known for their piety. In the meantime, al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl remained encamped at Shāhī and rested; his companions revived their mounts and were themselves revived as they drank the sweet waters of the Euphrates, and supplies, provisions, and funds reached them. As for Yaḥyā b. 'Umar, he remained in al-Kūfah, collecting provisions, forging swords (*yaṭba' al-suyūf*),
[1520] reviewing fighting men, and gathering weapons. A group of Zaydīs, without knowledge of combat, counselled Yaḥyā to hasten against al-Ḥusayn, and most of his followers urged the same. So Yaḥyā advanced against him from the back of al-Kūfah, behind the trench—this was on Monday, the thirteenth of Rajab (August 20, 864).

The 'Alid was joined by al-Hayḍam al-'Ijlī at the head of a group of horsemen from Banū 'Ijl, a group of the Banū Asad, and infantry drawn from the populace of al-Kūfah, who had neither knowledge of war nor experience, and were without valor. They marched the whole night and in the morning came up against al-Ḥusayn and his men—the latter were rested and prepared. They charged wildly and hurled (stones)[54] at them for a whole hour just before daybreak. Al-Ḥusayn's troops then counter-attacked and put them to the sword. The first prisoner was al-Hayḍam b. al-'Alā' b. Jumhūr al-'Ijlī. The Kūfan infantry was routed, most of them being unarmed, weak and dressed in rags; and the (government) cavalry trampled them. The army scattered from the presence of Yaḥyā b. 'Umar, who was wearing the Tibetan coat of mail which he had taken from 'Abdallāh b. Maḥmūd; it trailed down the sides of the mule. A son of Khālid b. 'Imrān called Khayr came upon Yaḥyā but did not recognize him; he thought that Yaḥyā was a man from Khurāsān on account of the

53. This is but one more instance of the continuous struggle by the Shī'ites against the 'Abbāsids that is profusely documented by Ṭabarī.

54. Their uncoordinated and chaotic attack is only a reflection of their lack of training and inexperience.

coat of mail he was wearing. Abū al-Ghawr b. Khālid b. ʿImrān also came upon him and called out to Khayr b. Khālid, "O brother! By God! This is Abū al-Ḥusayn. The heart of his army has fled and he doesn't yet realize it." Khayr then called upon one of his men, an of- [1521] ficer (*ʿarīf*) from Mosul by the name of Muḥsin b. al-Muntāb. The latter dismounted and went after him; after killing Yaḥyā, he put his head in a basket and sent it with ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the brother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Khaṭṭāb, to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir.

Several people claimed to have killed him. Al-ʿIrs b. ʿUrāhim (said) they discovered him slain (*bārik*) and found his signet-ring and sword with a man known as al-ʿAsqalānī, who claimed that he had stabbed him and robbed him. Saʿd al-Ḍabābī also claimed that he had killed him. And it is also reported on the authority of Abū al-Ḥusayn, the maternal uncle of Abū al-Sanā, that he had stabbed a man in the back at dawn without recognizing who it was; they subsequently discovered a stab wound in the back of Abū al-Ḥusayn (Yaḥya). But no one is certain who killed him because so many claimed to have done it.

The head arrived at the residence of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir in a state of decomposition. They sought someone who would carve the eyes and larynx out of the flesh but to no avail; the butchers ran away. A volunteer was sought from the slaughterers among the Khurramiyyah[55] who were (then) in prison, but none came forth except for one man, one of the attendants of the new prison by the name of Sahl b. al-Ṣughdī. The latter took charge of carving out his brain and eyes, performing this task with his own hands. The (empty) head was then stuffed with aloes, musk, and camphor after it had been washed and wrapped in cotton. They reported that they [1522] had seen (evidence of) a severe sword blow on his temple. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir gave orders that the head be sent to al-Mustaʿīn on the morning of the day it had reached him, and he personally wrote to the Caliph of the victory.

The head was displayed at the Public Gate in Sāmarrā, where the people gathered to see it. They grew in numbers and complained.

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55. There were several sects known by this name. Originally, the name designated the followers of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī, see Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 41–42. But later the name was given to regional sects who were mainly extremist Shīʿites. See, for example, Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Zīnah*, 306.

Ibrāhīm al-Dayraj was in charge of displaying it, having been ordered to do so by Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's lieutenant. He displayed it for a little while, then it was taken down to be sent to Baghdad for display at the Bridge Gate.[56] But this couldn't be arranged for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh on account of the crowds that had gathered; he was told that they gathered to seize it. As a result, he did not display it but, instead, had it placed in a coffer in the arsenal of his palace. On the other hand, al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl sent the prisoners and the heads of the slain in his possession with a man called Aḥmad b. ʿIṣmawayh—he was one of those accompanying Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm. Aḥmad drove them hard, starved and humiliated them, and had them detained in the new prison. Then Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh wrote, asking that they be pardoned and then set free. He also ordered that the heads be buried and not displayed. Thus, they were buried in a palace near the Golden Gate.[57]

One of the Ṭāhirids reported that he was in the assembly of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir while the latter was being congratulated for the death of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar and the military victory. A group of Hāshimites and Ṭālibids, among others, were in attendance. Among those who had entered into his presence was Dāwūd b. al-Haytham
[1523] Abū Hāshim al-Jaʿfarī who, hearing people congratulating him, said, "O Prince! You are being congratulated for killing a man for whom the Messenger of God, had he been alive, would be among the bereaved." Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh did not respond, whereupon Abū al-Hāshim al-Jaʿfarī left, reciting:

> O Banū Ṭāhir eat him like a plague
> for the flesh of the prophet is not nourishing.
>
> A revenge that God himself seeks
> will, I am sure, be crowned with perfect success.

Al-Mustaʿīn had sent Kalbātikīn to reinforce al-Ḥusayn (b. Ismāʿīl) and to help him to victory. But he caught up with al-Ḥusayn after the enemy had been routed and Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar had been

56. Public display of parts of bodies of one's political enemies, usually the head, was a common practice at this time as is attested by Ṭabarī himself in several instances below.

57. That is, in the Round City of al-Manṣūr. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 19, 30–33, 242–5, and Lassner, *Topography*, s.v. Gold Palace.

killed. Kalbātikīn continued his march, accompanied by the postmaster of al-Kūfah, and encountered a contingent of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar's men. They were carrying provisions and food and were seeking Yaḥyā's camp. He killed them and then entered al-Kūfah with the intention of looting it and putting its populace to the sword. Al-Ḥusayn (b. Ismāʿīl) prohibited him from doing so, giving protection to both the blacks and whites of the city. Kalbātikīn stayed for a few days, then withdrew from al-Kūfah.

In this year, during the month of Ramaḍān (October 6–November 4, 864), the rebellion of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib took place.

The Reason For His Rebellion [1524]

A group of people from Ṭabaristān and others reported on the reason for this. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir had been granted some government controlled lands in Ṭabaristān as fiefs. This was to mark his success in killing Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar and the subsequent entry of his officers and troops into al-Kūfah. Among those grants was a fief near the two frontiers of Ṭabaristān bordering Daylam, that is, Galār and Sālūs. Behind it was land jointly utilized by the people of that district as a source of firewood, and for grazing lands and pasturage for their animals. No one held ownership of this area; it was but a barren stretch of uncultivated state land, except for thickets, some bushes and grazing grass. I was told that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir sent one of the brothers of his secretary Bishr b. Hārūn al-Naṣrānī—he was called Jābir b. Hārūn—to take possession of the land there that had been granted (to the Ṭāhirid) as a fief.

At that time the governor of Ṭabaristān was Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh, the lieutenant of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. But Muḥammad b. Aws al-Balkhī had Sulaymān totally under his control. The former positioned his offspring in the cities of Ṭabaristān, establishing them as governors. Each was assigned to a particular city of the province. They were impudent youths and caused harm to those subjects who were their responsibility. Their [1525]
subjects thus disapproved of them as well as of their father, Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh, on account of their arrogance, the manner in which they treated them, and their brutality. If the story of these excesses were properly told, it would fill a book by itself.

According to reports I have received, Muḥammad b. Aws also started a blood feud with the Daylamites by launching a surprise attack against the regions of their country that bordered Ṭabaristān. He did this although they were peaceful people on good terms with the populace of Ṭabaristān. Muḥammad took some Daylamites prisoner and killed others before he returned, contented, to Ṭabaristān. This further enraged the people of Ṭabaristān against him. When the messenger of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, that is, Jābir b. Hārūn al-Naṣrānī, came to Ṭabaristān to take possession of the land that was granted there to Muḥammad, he went, so I was told, to the government controlled lands. He reportedly took possession of this land (which had been granted to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh) and in addition he took the uncultivated state land which was commonly utilized by the inhabitants of that region. Among the uncultivated state lands (*mawāt*) he wanted the (area) by the two frontier regions, Galār and Sālūs.

At the time, there were two men in that region who were famous for their courage and valor. Moreover, they were known in days gone
[1526] by for their ability to hold that region against any Daylamites, who desired it, thus allowing people to find sustenance there and granting favor to those who would support them. One of them was called Muḥammad, the other Jaʿfar; they were brothers, the sons of Rustam. They disapproved of Jābir b. Hārūn's attempt—described previously—to appropriate the uncultivated state land, and they resisted it. The two sons of Rustam were obeyed in that region, and they stirred up support among their followers to prevent Jābir b. Hārūn from obtaining the uncultivated state land that he desired—the land which was reportedly utilized by the people of that region and which was not inside the fief granted to his master Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. Their followers rose in support of them, and Jābir b. Hārūn fled for his life, fearing Muḥammad and Jaʿfar and their followers who did not approve of Jābir al-Naṣrānī's intended action. The latter thus joined Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir.

The two sons of Rustam and their followers, who supported them in preventing Jābir from obtaining the uncultivated state land, as I have mentioned, became convinced that mischief was underway. For the governor of all of Ṭabaristān, Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh, was the brother of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and the paternal uncle of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh, who was then al-Mustaʿīn's gov-

ernor over Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān, al-Rayy and all of the eastern provinces. When the people became convinced (of what would happen), they contacted their neighbors among the Daylamites and reminded them of their loyalty to the existing agreement between them, and of what treachery Muḥammad b. Aws had perpetrated in killing and [1527]
taking prisoners among them. They also expressed their fear that he was about to do the same to them, and they were therefore asking the Daylamites to show themselves against him and his followers. The Daylamites responded by saying that their land was totally surrounded by territory under the control of either the Ṭāhirid governors, or those governors who supported the Ṭāhirids when needed. Thus, there was no way that they could support them until their fear—that troops would be sent against them if they became openly involved in a war that affected the subjects of Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh's governors—abated.[58]

Those who sought their open support against Sulaymān and his governors informed the Daylamites that they would not be mindless of their needs, thereby allaying the Daylamite fears. The Daylamites then responded positively, and formulated an agreement with the people of Galār and Sālūs to support one another in the fight against Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh, Ibn Aws and any others who intended to attack them. Afterwards, Rustam's sons Muḥammad and Jaʿfar reportedly sent word to one of the Ṭālibids then living in Ṭabaristān—he was called Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm—offering to solicit the oath of allegiance to him. He refused them, saying, "However, I will direct you to another one of us who is more suited to your call." They asked, "Who is this man?" And he told them that it was al-Ḥasan b. Zayd and directed them to al-Ḥasan's residence in al-Rayy. People were then sent to al-Rayy, at the recommendation [1528]
of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm the ʿAlid, to invite al-Ḥasan to Ṭabaristān. Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd did this. He met the local population and found that the Daylamites and the people of Galār, Sālūs and Rūyān had already spoken of their allegiance to him and of their intention to campaign jointly against Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh. When al-Ḥasan b. Zayd met them, they swore allegiance to him. Those who

58. The text is difficult: *wa-inna mā saʾalū min muʿāwanatihim lā sabīl lahum ilayhi illā bi-zawāl al-khawf ʿanhum man(?) yuʾtū min qibal ẓuhūrihim idhā hum ishtaghalū bi-ḥarb min bayn aydīhim min ʿummāl Sulaymān* . . .

swore allegiance were: the two sons of Rustam; most of the people of the frontier region; the chiefs of the Daylamites such as Jāyā, Lāshām, and Wahsūdām b. Justān; and of the people of Rūyān, ʿAbdallāh b. Wandāmīd, who was esteemed among them as a devout and pious man. They now rebelled against the governors of Ibn Aws in that region and expelled them, whereupon the latter joined Ibn Aws and Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh who were then in Sāriyah.[59]

Those who swore allegiance to al-Ḥasan b. Zayd from the aforementioned districts were joined by those who now heard of his rebellion. That is, they were joined by the thugs (*ḥawziyyah*) of the
[1529] mountains of Ṭabaristān such as Masmughān, Qādusbān, Layth b Qubādh, and, among the people of the foothills, Khushakajistān b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Khalīl b. Wandāsifjān. The exceptions were the inhabitants of Mount Firīm,[60] who were well defended in their mountain and were under the leadership of Qārin b. Shahriyār. They did not join al-Ḥasan b. Zayd and his followers until after Qārin himself died, although at times they had amicable dealings with them and also intermarried with them. These dealings were an attempt by Qārin to ward off the antagonism of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd and his followers.

After that, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd and his commanders from the aforementioned regions marched on Āmul, the city of Ṭabaristān closest to Galār and Sālūs[61] by way of the foothills. Ibn Aws proceeded from Sāriyah to defend the city, and the two armies met in one of the regions of Āmul and engaged one another in battle. Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd slipped away from the scene of the battle with some of his followers and entered the city from another direction. When the news of his entrance into the city reached Ibn Aws, who was preoccupied with al-Ḥasan b. Zayd's men before him, he thought only of saving
[1530] himself and joining Sulaymān at Sāriyah. When al-Ḥasan b. Zayd entered Āmul the ranks of his army swelled, and his cause began to show promise. Joining him was every seeker of booty and every adventurous rebel from among the vagabonds (*ṣaʿālīk*), the squatters and others.

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59. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 370, 375.
60. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 260.
61. In Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 130, 132, it is spelled in the alternate form Shālūs. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 172, 311.

According to what I was told, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd remained in Āmul for a few days in order to collect taxes from its inhabitants and make preparations. Then he and his force pushed on towards Sāriyah seeking Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh. Sulaymān and Ibn Aws marched out with their armies, and the two forces met outside Sāriyah where they waged battle. One of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd's commanders slipped away from the area of the engagement and approached the city of Sāriyah from another direction. He then entered the city together with his officers and men. Once that news reached Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh and his troops, they thought only of saving themselves.

A group of people from that district and others (said) Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh fled, leaving behind his family, his household, his baggage, and all the money, furnishings, and other things he had at Sāriyah. He did this without a second thought and went straight to Jurjān. Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd and his men then took over Sulaymān's possessions in Āmul as well as those of his army. As for Sulaymān's household, his family and furnishings, I was told that al-Ḥasan b. Zayd had them sent to Sulaymān, and they caught up with him in [1531] Jurjān. As for the possessions of his companions, they were looted by the followers of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. With Sulaymān b ʿAbdallāh taking refuge in Jurjān, the control of all Ṭabaristān was left to al-Ḥasan b. Zayd.

As soon as al-Ḥasan b. Zayd gained control over Ṭabaristān, having driven out Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh and his men, he sent cavalry, under the leadership of a man from his own house (also) called al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, to al-Rayy. The latter reached the city and expelled the Ṭāhirid governor. When al-Rayy was taken by the man sent by the Ṭālibids, its governor fled. The former appointed a Ṭālibid called Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar as his lieutenant and then withdrew from the city. In addition to Ṭabaristān, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd now controlled the whole district of al-Rayy, up to Hamadhān.

News of this reached al-Mustaʿīn—his administrative assistant at the time was Waṣīf the Turk, and his secretary was Ạmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shīrzād who was also entrusted with the privy-seal and the wazīrate. The Caliph now sent Ismāʿīl b. Farāshah with an army to Hamadhān with orders to establish himself there and secure the region lest the cavalry of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd penetrate the area. The order was limited to that (locality) because the district beyond Hamadhān was controlled by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir.

The latter's governors ruled it, and he was charged with its welfare.
[1532] When Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar the Ṭālibid was firmly in control over al-Rayy, he reportedly manifested behavior which elicited the disapproval of its inhabitants. At this, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh sent to al-Rayy one of his commanders, called Muḥammad b. Mīkāl—he was the brother of the Shāh b. Mīkāl—with an army of cavalry and infantry. He and Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar the Ṭālibid met outside the city. It is reported that Muḥammad b. Mīkāl took Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar the Ṭālibid prisoner. Dispersing the latter's army, he entered al-Rayy where he remained and mentioned the central authorities (once again) in the invocation (*daʿā li-l-sulṭān*).[62] Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd did not wait long before sending a cavalry force commanded by a man from Lāriz[63] called Wājin. As Wājin made out for al-Rayy, Muḥammad b. Mīkāl came forth to meet him. They engaged in a battle in which Wājin and his troops routed Muḥammad b. Mīkāl and his men. The latter then fled to the city seeking to defend himself there, but Wājin and his followers pursued him until he was killed. As a result, al-Rayy went over to the supporters of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. Appearing in al-Rayy on the day of *ʿarafāt* that year,[64] following the death of Muḥammad b. Mīkāl, were Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn the Younger b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī
[1533] Ṭālib and Idrīs b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā led the festival prayer at al-Rayy and invoked the name of the Chosen One of Muḥammad's family.[65] Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir came up against him, but Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā routed him and afterward made his way to Qazwīn.

In this year, Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid fell from favor, having been accused by Waṣīf of corrupting the Shākiriyyah to whom he was sent. He was exiled to al-Baṣrah on the twenty-third of Rabīʿ I (May 4, 864).

In this year, those Umayyads who had a position of rank at the

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62. Although the Ṭāhirids had full control over the area, they still ruled on behalf of the central authority and recognized the Caliph as their supreme sovereign.

63. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 7.

64. The day of *ʿarafāt* is on the ninth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, *EI*², *I*, 604, hence the date is January 11, 865.

65. See n. 53, above.

Public Audience Hall such as Ibn Abī al-Shawārib were dropped from that position. This was also true of the 'Uthmānids.[66]

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn was freed from prison.

In this year, al-'Abbās b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was made heir to the throne (*ujlisa*) and Ja'far b. al-Faḍl b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā, who was known as Bashāshāt, was appointed governor of Mecca in Jumādā I (June 10–July 9, 864).

In this year, the people of Ḥimṣ, and a group of the Kalb under the leadership of 'Uṭayf b. Ni'mah al-Kalbī, attacked al-Faḍl b. Qārin, the brother of Māziyār b. Qārin, and killed him—he was then governor of Ḥimṣ on behalf of the central authorities. Al-Musta'īn then sent Mūsā b. Bughā the Elder against them. The latter set out from Sāmarrā on Thursday, the thirteenth of Ramaḍān (October 18, 864). When Mūsā approached (Ḥimṣ), its inhabitants met him between the city and Rastan. Engaging them in combat, he routed them and conquered Ḥimṣ. He killed a great many of its inhabitants, burned [1534]
the city and took a group of the local leaders prisoner; but 'Uṭayf had escaped and joined the bedouins.

On Sunday, the twenty-fourth of Ramaḍān, 250 (October 29, 864) Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. 'Ammār al-Qāḍī died.

In this year, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jawārī al-Taymī, the judge of al-Baṣrah, died.

In this year, Ḥamad b. al-Wazīr was put in charge of the judiciary of Sāmarrā.

In this year, the Shākiriyyah and the regular army (*jund*) in Fārs assaulted 'Abdallāh b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm. They looted his residence and killed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Qārin as 'Abdallāh b. Isḥāq fled.

In this year, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir sent two elephants from Khurāsān (to Baghdad?)—he had received them from Kābūl—along with statues and perfumes.

Leading the summer campaign this year was Balkājūr.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Ja'far b. al-Faḍl Bashāshāt, who was the governor of Mecca.

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66. For these ranks of nobility and the social stratification, see Mez, *Renaissance*, 132–155.

[1535]

The Events of the Year 251

(FEBRUARY 2, 865–JANUARY 21, 866)

Among the events taking place, Waṣīf and Bughā the Younger killed Bāghar al-Turkī, and the mawlās became agitated.

Their Killing of Bāghar

The reported reason (was that) Bāghar had been one of those who murdered al-Mutawakkil. As a result, his military allotment increased and he was granted several fiefs, among them the estates belonging to the hinterland of al-Kūfah. One of the dihqāns of Bārūsmā and Nahr al-Malik[67] was given the responsibility for farming taxes on these estates; (the taxes were to be collected) by a Jewish secretary acting on behalf of Bāghar. The sum was two thousand dīnārs a year. Now a man from that region by the name of Ibn Mārimmah attacked[68] one of Bāghar's agents, as a result of which Ibn Mārimmah was arrested and fettered. But he later managed to escape from prison and went to Sāmarrā where he met Dulayl b. Ya'qūb al-Naṣrānī who was then Bughā al-Sharābī's secretary and the ad-

67. For Bārūsmā and Nahr al-Malik, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 70, 81. For dihqān, see EI^2, II, 253–254.

68. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 137, where he uses *wathaba* instead of the unusual *'adā . . . 'alā* for "attack".

ministrator of his affairs. The army was Dulayl's responsibility, and commanders and governors thus came to him with requests on account of the esteem accorded to him by Bughā. Ibn Mārimmah was a friend of Dulayl, and Bāghar was one of Bughā's commanders.

Dulayl prevented Bāghar from dealing harshly with Aḥmad b. Mārimmah. This precipitated the antagonism that Bāghar felt for [1536] Dulayl and was the reason for the rift between them. Bāghar was a courageous hero and well respected among Turks, but Bughā and others were wary of him and feared his capacity for evil. Bāghar reportedly came to Bughā on Tuesday the twenty-seventh of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 250 (January 29, 865). He was totally intoxicated when he found Bughā in the bath. He waited for the latter to get out. Then, entering into Bughā's presence, he said, "By God Dulayl must be killed." He then took to insulting Dulayl, whereupon Bughā replied, "If you had wished to kill my son Fāris I wouldn't have stopped you. Why should I concern myself with Dulayl al-Naṣrānī? But my affairs, as well as those of the caliphate, are in his hands. Wait until I appoint someone in his stead, and then do with him as you please."

Following this, Bughā sent word to Dulayl ordering him not to ride out. It is also said that one of Bughā's physicians, called Ibn Sarjawayh, met Dulayl and told him the news, whereupon the latter returned to his residence and hid. Bughā then sent for Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Fīrūz—he had been one of his previous secretaries—and appointed him in Dulayl's place to deceive Bāghar into thinking that he had discharged Dulayl from his office. Bāghar quieted down, and Bughā then attempted to reconcile Dulayl and Bāghar. But Bāghar kept threatening to kill Dulayl if he ever came face to face with him.[69]

Bāghar then ingratiated himself with al-Mustaʿīn and was assigned to palace duties. (He was liked so much that) al-Mustaʿīn disliked having him replaced. When it was the day for Bughā to be at home off duty, al-Mustaʿīn asked, "What duties [*aʿmāl*] were assigned to Ītākh." Waṣīf informed him, whereupon the Caliph said, "These functions ought to be transferred to Abū Muḥammad Bāghar." To which Waṣīf replied, "Yes". When the story reached Dulayl, he rode out to Bughā and said, "You sit at home while they are arranging to discharge you from all your duties. If you are indeed [1537]

69. The text reads: *khalā bi-aṣḥābihi,* "He was alone with his friends."

discharged, nothing remains but for you to be killed." Then, on the eve of his day off, Bughā went straight to the caliphal palace and said to Waṣīf, "You wanted to demote me and bring in Bāghar to replace me, while Bāghar is but one of my servants and followers?" Waṣīf responded, "I had no idea of the Caliph's wishes in that regard." Waṣīf and Bughā then agreed to remove Bāghar from the palace and to plot against him. They spread alarming rumors that he was being given command of a force in addition to his own, that he was being given robes of honor, and that he was to be seated in the palace assemblies in place of Bughā and Waṣīf, while the latter would be reduced in status to commanders (*amīr*). They persisted in arguing that that was going to take place on account of al-Mustaʿīn's fear of him.

Bāghar and his followers became suspicious, and he gathered the group who had sworn allegiance to him in the killing of al-Mutawakkil, or at least some of them, as well as others. When they gathered, he consulted them and confirmed their allegiance as he did at the killing of al-Mutawakkil. They responded, "We are still bound by our oath of allegiance." To which he replied, "Stay at the palace until we kill al-Mustaʿīn, Bughā and Waṣīf. Then we will install ʿAlī, the son of al-Muʿtaṣim, or the son of al-Wāthiq as caliph, so that control will be ours, as it is now for those two who have taken everything tangible and left us with nothing." They agreed with him on this course of action. When the news reached al-Mustaʿīn, he sent for Bughā and Waṣīf—that was on Monday—and he said to
[1538] them, "I didn't ask you to make me caliph, but you and your friends did it anyway. Now you want to kill me?" They both swore that they knew nothing of this. Whereupon he told them the news—it was said that word had been brought by a divorced wife of Bāghar, who came to al-Mustaʿīn's mother and to Bughā with it. Early the next morning Dulayl went to Bughā, and there he was joined by Waṣīf, who was accompanied by Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, his secretary. They all agreed to seize and imprison Bāghar and two other Turks until they determined what to do with them. Bāghar was then brought with many others into the house of Bughā.

Bishr b. Saʿīd al-Marthidī (said that he) was present when Bāghar arrived. He was denied access to Bughā and Waṣīf but was taken, instead, to one of Bughā's bath-houses, and shackles were ordered for him. Although he resisted, they imprisoned him in the bath-house. When word reached the Turks at the Hārūnī Palace, at al-Karkh and

at al-Dūr,[70] they attacked the government stables and looted them of all the animals they could find. Then they mounted the animals and presented themselves at the Jawsaq Palace fully armed. By the end of the day Waṣīf and Bughā commanded Rashīd, the son of Waṣīf's sister Suʿād, to kill Bāghar. He came to him with a group of men, and they cut him down with axes until he lay still. When al-Mustaʿīn got wind of their gathering, he set sail in a fire-boat (*ḥarrāqah*) together with Waṣīf and Bughā, and they journeyed to the residence of Waṣīf. People rushed back and forth with their weapons all day and all night—that was Tuesday. Waṣīf told (his followers), [1539] "Wait and see. If they persist in their uprising, we'll throw them his head." When the news of his death reached the rioting Turks, they persisted in their uprising until they learned that al-Mustaʿīn, Bughā and Waṣīf were already on their way to Baghdad. Waṣīf had given arms and lances to some cavalry and infantry among the Maghāribah and sent them against these rioters. He also sent word to the Shākiriyyah to be prepared in case they were needed. But, by noontime people quieted down, and the disturbance came to an end. A number of Turkish commanders had gone to these rioters and asked them to go home, saying, "Yūq Yūq," meaning "No! No!"

Bishr b. Saʿīd reported on the authority of Jāmiʿ b. Khālid, one of the Turks who succeeded Waṣīf: He (Jāmiʿ) and several people who knew Turkish were ordered to speak to the rioters. They told the latter that al-Mustaʿīn, Bughā and Waṣīf had already gone to Baghdad, whereupon the Turks showed signs of regret and left with their spirit broken. But as the news of al-Mustaʿīn's departure spread, the [1540] Turks attacked the dwellings of Dulayl b. Yaʿqūb and the nearby houses of his family, as well as those of his neighbors. They looted them completely, even the wood and the *darwands*.[71] They killed whatever mules they could, stole the fodder of the pack-animals and the wine that was stored in the wine cellar (*khizānat al-sharāb*). The dwelling of Salamah b. Saʿīd al-Naṣrānī was defended by a group of wrestlers and other neighbors of Dulayl, who were charged with protecting it. The defenders (also) prevented them from going

70. See n. 39, above.

71. *Darwand* probably refers to the wooden stalks used for medicinal purposes and usually hung around houses to dispel desease. It is an arabized word from the Persian *dorānij* or *dorowanj*. See Shir, *Loan-Words*, 62.

through the building—the rioters wanted to reach the dwelling of Ibrāhīm b. Mihrān, the Christian soldier—and drove them away. Therefore, Salamah and Ibrāhīm were spared the looting.

A poet, reported to have been Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith al-Yamāmī, said on the occasion of Bāghar's death and the riot that took place on account of it:

By my life, having indeed killed Bāghar,
 Bāghar unleashed a devastating war.

The caliph escaped with the two commanders
 at night seeking [the fastest] ship.

They called for Maysān their sailor,
 and he came faster than a glance.

He made them retreat to the belly of the ship
 and the squeak of their oars [marked] the speed.

And what power had this Ibn Mārimmah
 that we suffer on his account vicious war?

But it was Dulayl who intervened this one time,
 and on account of it God devastated the world.

[1541] He came to Baghdad just before sunrise
 thereby bringing to it much of the Baghdādīs' sorrow.

Would that that ship had never reached us,
 but that God had sunk it along with its passengers,

For the Turks came with the Maghāribah
 and were joined by the Farāghinah armour clad.

Their squadrons march fully armed
 going to and fro, mounted soldiers and infantry.[72]

72. The text *thibīnā* should be read *thā'ibīnā*, "coming back"—in contrast to *yarūḥūn*, "they go forth."

They were met by an expert at war,
someone who had been at it for too long.

He refurbished the defensive walls on both sides
until he encompassed all of them.

He reinforced all of the gates
along the defensive wall protecting al-Mustaʿīn.

He set up a ballista
that casts death, but protects the lion's den.

He called to arms many a soldier and a recruit,
that would number thousands and thousands if counted.

And he aligned the ballistas in perfect order
all along the wall like the pupils of eyes.

It was reported that when they (that is, al-Mustaʿīn, Waṣīf and Bughā) reached Baghdad, Ibn Mārimmah fell ill. He was visited by Dulayl b. Yaʿqūb who asked him about the cause of his illness, to which he replied, "The wound caused by the shackles went foul [*intaqaḍa*] on me." Dulayl then said, "If the shackles have caused you wounds, you [in turn] have defiled [*naqaḍta*][73] the caliphate and caused internal strife."

Ibn Mārimmah died during those days. Abū ʿAlī al-Yamāmī al-Ḥanafī said on the occasion of al-Mustaʿīn's arrival at Baghdad:

He lasted only as long as his reign,
perishing shortly thereafter.

The Turks forbade the people from coming down to Baghdad. [1542]
They reportedly took a sailor who had rented out his boat and whipped him two hundred times, after which they hung him on the mast of his vessel. The boat-men were thus inhibited from making the trip except secretly, or heavily laden with provisions.

In this year the internal strife came to a boil and war broke out between the people of Baghdad and the government army stationed in

73. The pun is in the use of the verb *intaqaḍa*, said of an unsound wound that has gone bad, and *naqaḍa*, "meaning "to break a pact," "to demolish a house," etc.

Sāmarrā. Everyone in Sāmarrā swore allegiance to al-Muʿtazz, while those in Baghdad kept their allegiance to al-Mustaʿīn.

The Outbreak of This Civil Strife and the Reason Why the Regular Army in Sāmarrā Pledged Allegiance to al-Muʿtazz and Deposed al-Mustaʿīn; Their War Against Those Who Retained Allegiance to the Latter

We have already mentioned the arrival in Baghdad of al-Mustaʿīn, Shāhak al-Khādim, Waṣīf, Bughā, and Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shīrzād. That took place three hours past daylight on Wednesday, the fourth—some say the fifth—of Muḥarram, 251 (February 5–6, 865). Upon arriving, al-Mustaʿīn established his residence at the palace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. Following that, one of Waṣīf's lieutenants known as Sallām came to Baghdad. He exchanged information and then returned to his residence in Sāmarrā. With the exception of Jaʿfar al-Khayyāṭ and Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh, the commanders now came to Baghdad, along with most of the secretaries, the governors and the Hashimite family. These, in turn, were
[1543] followed by the Turkish commanders who were on the side of Waṣīf: Kalbātikīn the commander, Ṭayghaj the lieutenant (*al-khalīfah*), who was a Turk, and Ibn ʿAjūz the deputy, who was from Nasā.[74]

Among those on the side of Bughā was Bāyakbāk the commander, who was one of the bodyguards (*ghilmān al-khidmah*), together with several of Bughā's lieutenants. Waṣīf and Bughā had reportedly sent a messenger to them before their arrival, ordering them to do the following: If they came to Baghdad, they were to go to the island opposite the dwellings of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. They were not to go to the pontoon bridge (spanning the Tigris) where they would frighten the populace by their arrival. They complied,
[1544] and on arriving at the island they dismounted. Skiffs were now sent

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74. The text is difficult to interpret and hard to defend on grammatical grounds: *wāfā baʿd dhālika . . . Kalbātikīn al-qāʾid wa-Ṭayghaj al-khalīfah Turkī wa-Ibn ʿAjūz al-khalīfah Nasāʾī*. If the vocalization *nasāʾī* is correct, then it is probably a *nisbah* signifying the town in Khurāsān known as Nasā. See Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 559r. One would normally expect al-Turkī and al-Nasāʾī to occur as adjectives rather than as predicates of sentences, which seems to be the case here.

to transport them across (the river). Kalbātikīn, Bāyakbāk, the commanders from al-Dūr, and Arnātjur the Turk climbed out of the skiffs and presented themselves to al-Musta'īn. They threw themselves in front of him with their belts on their necks, as signs of submission and humiliation, and then spoke to al-Musta'īn and asked him for forgiveness and acceptance. He responded by saying, "You are people of corruption and ill-repute who belittle the bonds of privilege. Didn't you bring your children for me to put on the military rolls, about two thousand of them, and didn't I agree to let them join you? And didn't I order that your daughters, about four thousand women, be counted amongst the married? Then there were those who had just reached puberty, the recent born. I have seen to it that all your desires were met. I poured out my gifts to you until I was giving you the gold and the silver that I deprived myself of. All of that I did in an attempt to please you and to attend to your welfare. In return you persisted in your corruption, infamy, arrogance and threats." They pleaded with him, saying, "We have sinned; the Commander of the Faithful is right in all that he has said. We ask his forgiveness in overlooking our offence." Al-Musta'īn responded, "I have already forgiven you, and I am content." Bāyakbāk then said, "If you are pleased with us and have forgiven us, then come ride with us to Sāmarrā where the Turks are waiting for you." Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh signaled to Muḥammad b. Abī 'Awn who, in turn, nudged Bāyakbāk. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh then said to the latter, "Does one speak thus to the Commander of the Faithful, 'Come, ride with us?'" Al-Musta'īn laughed at that and said, "These are foreign people and have no knowledge of protocol [*ḥudūd al-kalām*]". Then he said to them, "Go to Sāmarrā, where [1545]
your allotments are secure, while I stay here to manage my affairs and look into the matter of my residence." They left, despairing of him and angered by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh's behavior.

They reported what had happened to all the Turks that they encountered, but they distorted his response to them in an attempt to provoke the Turks into deposing the Caliph and replacing him (with another). The Turks thus agreed to free al-Mu'tazz and to swear allegiance to him. Al-Mu'tazz had been detained, together with al-Mu'ayyad, in a small room at the Jawsaq Palace. Each of them was attended to by a page serving a Turk called 'Īsā, the lieutenant of

Yulnār.[75] With them were several aides. They freed al-Muʿtazz on that same day and took some of his hair—the oath of allegiance had already been rendered to him. He, in return, ordered that the people be given ten months worth of their allotments, but the money could not be raised. Given the scarcity of funds, they were granted two months payment instead. Al-Mustaʿīn had left around five hundred thousand dīnārs in the treasury at Sāmarrā. These revenues originated in Syria, having been brought from the region of Mosul by the commanders Ṭalmajūr and Astakīn. In the treasury of al-Mustaʿīn's mother there were close to one million dīnārs, and in that of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Mustaʿīn there were around six hundred thousand dīnārs.

The text of the oath of allegiance reportedly read as follows:

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate

You swear allegiance to the Servant of God, the imām al-
[1546] Muʿtazz billāh, Commander of the Faithful. You swear this allegiance of your free will, and in good faith. You swear contented with desire and with loyalty from your very hearts. You swear full of joy and good intention, not forced or coerced, but fully cognizant of what this allegiance calls for by way of asserting the fear of God, the preferance for His obedience, the strengthening of His ways and His religion, the common welfare of His servants, following the concensus of opinion, the buttressing of unity, the subduing of troublemakers, insuring peace of mind, the strengthening of the supporters and the suppression of the unbelievers. You swear that Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz billāh is the Servant of God and His caliph to whom you owe obedience, good counsel, and loyalty without any doubt, hypocrisy, swerving, or suspicion, and to whom you owe submission, support, faithfulness, uprightness, good counsel in secret and in public, and that you will rush to fulfill all the commands of the servant of God, Abū ʿAbdallāh, the imām al-Muʿtazz billāh, Commander of the Faithful, in all matters concerning loyalty to his supporters, waging war against his internal or external foes.

75. The name is uncertain, with a range of possible variations as different as Limyān, Bilyān, etc.

You swear that you will always uphold your allegiance to him, being fully honest, and accepting what the Commander of the Faithful accepts after this allegiance of yours. You have taken upon yourself and confirmed most willingly with complete sincerity of heart the desire and intention that the heir apparent of the Muslims be Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad billāh, the brother of the Commander of the Faithful. You also swear that you will not attempt to disobey any of the promises given by you, nor swerve in your loyalty and support, nor change your minds, nor contradict nor go back on this allegiance, nor would you hold in secret other than what you declare. Now allow this allegiance that [1547] you have given by your word and pledge to be an allegiance that God can exact from your hearts and count on its fulfillment. Let Him count on your loyalty and your support for it, aiding those to whom His allegiance is given without hesitation, duplicity or reconsideration, in order that you meet your God having fulfilled His pledge and satisfied His commandments to you, without any violation. Those of you who swear the caliphal oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful and the heir apparent, the brother of the Commander of the Faithful, Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad billah, do so as though they swear to God, and the hand of God is above all of theirs. Anyone violating this pledge does so at his own peril, and those who remain faithful to it, will be greatly rewarded in the hereafter on that account, and on account of the demands this allegiance requires them, and which they give in good faith in accordance with the conditions incumbent upon them by way of loyalty, support, and earnest assistance. The pledge is with God, and God's pledge is indeed executable. It is incumbent upon you under God's guardianship, may He be exalted, and under the guardianship of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, and in accordance with all the pledges that God has exacted of his prophets, messengers and any of his servants, that you heed what you promised in this pledge. Do not change it nor deviate from it, and hold fast to what you pledged to God in the same manner the obedient hold to obedience and [1548] the faithful keep their pledges.

Let no ambition or desire dissuade you from your pledge, nor any plotting and wickedness turn your hearts away from the

right path. Strive to the utmost in that regard and be obedient and faithful to this pledge as a supreme duty; God accepts nothing but faithfulness to his pledges.

Anyone amongst those of you who have sworn allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful and the heir apparent of the Muslims, the brother of the Commander of the Faithful, anyone of you who violates this pledge secretly or publicly, expressly or finding excuses by dubious means, and betrays his pledge to God or to His commandments, and strays from the path that the righteous take, all the possessions of such a person who has treacherously violated his pledge, be they estates, flocks, agricultural lands or cattle, they will be given as legal charity to the poor and will be used towards righteous objectives, and he will be prohibited from having access to them, even if he resorts to ruses or legal stratagems. He shall not be allowed to benefit from any possessions, be they small or large, and it will remain thus
[1549] until his day comes and he departs from this life. Every slave he owns, be it male or female, is from this day on till the end of thirty years, completely free. All his wives at the day when his infringement is proven, and all those he will marry thereafter till the end of thirty years, are considered obligingly divorced. God will accept no substitute for faithfulness to His pledges. Any such violator has no claim unto God or His Prophet, and God and His Prophet are free of any obligation towards him. God will not accept from him any repentance [*ṣarf*] or ransom [*ʿadl*]. He is your witness, and there is no strength except in God. He is sufficient for us, and He is the best of Guardians.

Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd was reportedly brought to swear allegiance while carried on a litter, for he was stricken by gout. When he was ordered to swear allegiance, he refused and said to al-Muʿtazz, "You had spoken out before, declaring your obedience and repudiating [the caliphate], while proclaiming that you would not assume rule." Al-Muʿtazz retorted, "I was coerced into saying that, in fear of the sword." Abū Aḥmad then said, "We were not told that you were coerced, and we have sworn allegiance to this man.[76] Now you

76. That is, al-Mustaʿīn.

want us to divorce our wives and lose our possessions.[77] We do not know what will become of me if you leave me until the people gather here. You have no alternative but to use this sword." Al-Mu'tazz then ordered, "Let him be." And he was returned to his house without swearing allegiance.

Among those swearing allegiance were Ibrāhīm al-Dayraj and 'Attāb b. 'Attāb—the latter fled afterwards and went to Baghdad. As for al-Dayraj, he was given robes of honor and was put in charge of security. Robes of honor were also given to Sulaymān b. Yasār, al-Kātib, who was appointed head of the Bureau of Estates. He spent that day issuing orders and (generally) carrying out his functions. Then concealing himself in the (darkness) of night, he made his way to Baghdad. When the Turks swore allegiance to al-Mu'tazz he appointed his officials ('*ummāl*): Sa'īd b. Ṣāliḥ over the police, and [1550]
Ja'far b. Dīnār over the guards; Ja'far b. Maḥmūd was made wazīr, and Abū al-Ḥimār was given the Bureau of Taxation but was soon dismissed, to be replaced by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Minqār; The Bureau of the Turkish Army was given to one known as Abū 'Umar, the secretary of Sīmā al-Sharābī; Muqallad Kayd al-Kalb, the brother of Abū 'Umar, was given control of the treasury and the army payrolls of the Turks, the Maghāribah and the Shākiriyyah, while the postal bureau and the privy-seal were given to Sīmā al-Sharābānī; Abu 'Umar was appointed as secretary in the rank of wazīr.

When word reached Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh concerning the oath of allegiance to al-Mu'tazz and that the latter had appointed his officials, he ordered that all foodstuffs be withheld from the populace of Sāmarrā.[78] He also wrote to Mālik b. Ṭawq ordering him to Baghdad along with those of his kinsmen who accompanied him, and his contingent of troops. And he sent word to Najūbah b. Qays, who ruled al-Anbār, to call for general mobilization, while Sulaymān b. 'Imrān al-Mawṣilī was given orders to gather his kinsmen and to prohibit all vessels and foodstuffs from going down to Sāmarrā.[79]

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77. The idea being that in the oath of allegiance to al-Musta'īn, Abū Aḥmad had already sworn that if he were to change his allegiance he would lose his wives and possessions. The text of allegiance to al-Mu'tazz just cited makes the same demand.

78. Apparently Sāmarrā was heavily dependent on Baghdad and other cities for supplies. See Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 263, 265.

79. That is, the foodstuff that had to be brought to Sāmarrā downstream from the north.

He saw to it that no foodstuffs came up to Sāmarrā from Baghdad. A boat carrying rice and spices (*saqaṭ*)[80] was thus confiscated, whereupon the captain fled his vessel which was left abandoned until it sank. Al-Mustaʿīn ordered Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir to fortify Baghdad. At this, Muḥammad proceeded to encompass the East
[1551] Side of the city with a protective wall, extending from the Tigris near Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah to Sūq al-Thalāthā' and back to the Tigris.[81] Similarly on the West Side (he built a wall) from the Tigris by the Gate of the Fief (Qaṭīʿah) of Umm Jaʿfar to the palace of Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd.[82] Moreover, he placed at each gate an officer with a contingent of his troops as well as others. The Caliph also ordered that trenches be dug along the curving walls on both sides of the city and that pavilions (*miẓallāt*) be erected so that the cavalry could take refuge underneath them during the hot weather and rain. The expenditures for the two walls, the trenches and the pavilions was said to have reached 330 thousand dīnārs. At the Shammāsiyyah Gate[83] he set up five war engines (*shaddākhāt*) covering the width of the road. The engines contained cross beams (*ʿawāriḍ*), wooden planks (*alwāḥ*) and long protruding spikes. Outside the second gate, another gate, equal to it in thickness and armored with iron sheets, was suspended by ropes in such a way, if one were to enter that gate, the suspended gate would drop and kill whoever happened to be underneath it. On the inner gate a ballista (*ʿarrādah*) was set up, and on the outer one there were five huge mangonels (*majānīq*). Among them was a large one called The Angry One (*al-ghaḍbān*). Added to these were six ballistas which fired in the direction of Raqqat al-Shammāsiyyah.[84] On the Baradān Gate, eight ballistas, four on each side, and four war engines were set up. Similar arrangements were made for each and every gate on

80. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 1381, col. 3.

81. That is, along the East Side of Baghdad in a north to south direction. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 168–186, and Lassner, *Topography*, 78–84, 203.

82. This wall encircled the West Side in the same north to south direction as the previous wall. For the palace of Ḥumayd and the possible location of this wall, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 96, 172.

83. The Shammāsiyyah Gate is the natural entrance to Baghdad from the direction of Sāmarrā. For a full description of the neighborhood, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 199–230.

84. For the word *Raqqah*, meaning "plain" in this context, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 203.

the West and East Sides of Baghdad. Moreover each of the city gates was furnished with an arched passageway ample enough for a hun- [1552] dred cavalry and infantry. Every mangonel and ballista had men assigned to stretch the ropes and one man to fire whenever fighting broke out.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh instituted a special draft in Baghdad. He even requested a group of Khurāsānīs who had come to the city (en route to Mecca) as pilgrims to assist in fighting the Turks, and they did. He also ordered a special draft among the vagabonds (*ʿayyārūn*) and appointed a commander (*ʿarīf*) over them. Muḥammad saw to it that they had shields made of tar-covered mats (*bawārī*),[85] and nosebags (*makhālin*) filled with rocks, and this was done—Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn was reportedly in charge of making the tar-covered mats. Any man standing behind the mat could not be seen; it was made of fabrics that cost more than a hundred dīnārs.[86] The commander of the vagabonds with the tar-covered mats was called Yantawayh.

The work along the wall was completed on Thursday, the twenty-first[87] of Muḥarram (February 22, 865). Al-Mustaʿīn then wrote to the tax-collectors in every city and region to transport their revenues to the authorities at Baghdad and take nothing to Sāmarrā. He also wrote to the deputies of his lieutenant (over Iraq?) to reject the letters of the Turks. And he ordered that a document be sent to the Turks and the regular army at Sāmarrā commanding them to break [1553] the pledge to al-Muʿtazz, to return and fulfill their pledge of allegiance to him. He reminded them of his generosity towards them and prohibited them from disobeying him and violating their pledge to him. This letter was addressed to Sīmā al-Sharābī.

Various correspondences and messages were then exchanged between Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir and al-Muʿtazz. The latter called upon Muḥammad to undertake the same pledge to him as was given by the others who swore allegiance to his caliphate and the deposition of al-Mustaʿīn. He reminded Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh of the pledge that (al-Muʿtazz's father) al-Mutawakkil, had extracted

85. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 274, col. 3.
86. It is not clear whether the price is for all the mats (too low) or for each (too high).
87. The text is *li-sabʿin*, which could not be Thursday. It should be read *li-tisʿin*, which is very close orthographically, to coincide with Thursday which was indeed the twenty-first of Muḥarram.

from Muḥammad in regard to his being heir to the caliphate after his brother al-Muntaṣir. For fear of becoming too verbose, I have left out all the excuses which al-Mu'tazz provided Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh to render allegiance to him and still not be held in violation of his services to al-Musta'īn.

Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh now gave orders that the masonry bridges (*qanāṭir*) be destroyed, and the water canals be flooded in the district (*ṭassūj*) of al-Anbār and those sections of the district of Bādurāyā[88] that bordered it. He did this in order to cut the road to the Turks, fearing that they would come to al-Anbār. The men in charge of that were Najūbah b. Qays and Muḥammad b. Ḥamad b. Manṣūr al-Sa'dī.

Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh received word that the Turks had sent someone for the royal canopy (*shamsah*)[89] which was in the custody of al-Baynūq al-Farghānī. He was to guard it from the latter's men. Instead, Muḥammad sent Khālid b. 'Imrān and Bundār al-Ṭabarī to the region of al-Anbār on the evening of Wednesday, the twentieth of al-Muḥarram (February 21, 865). Following them, he
[1554] sent Rashīd b. Kāwūs, and they met al-Baynūq and his followers among the Turks and the Maghāribah. Khālid and Bundār demanded the royal canopy from them, after which Baynūq and his men came to al-Musta'īn in Baghdad.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Jaylawayh the Kurd was in charge of 'Ukbarā'.[90] Rādān[91] was entrusted to a man from the Maghāribah; he had gathered some revenue. Ibn Jaylawayh went to him and asked him to bring the district revenue, but the latter refused and declared his intention to do battle. Ibn Jaylawayh captured him and brought him to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh's door together with the district revenue, which came to 12,030 dīnārs. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah then granted Ibn Jaylawayh ten thousand dirhams.

Both al-Mu'tazz and al-Musta'īn wrote to Mūsā b. Bughā, each calling upon him to serve them. He was then stationed at the fron-

88. These districts were in the north-west section of Baghdad, a possible direction of the forthcoming attack. By flooding the land, the attacking army will have to come down the Tigris through the well-defended Shammāsiyyah Gate. For the geography involved, refer to Le Strange, *Baghdad*, the map facing page 47.

89. The meaning is uncertain. The translation follows Mez, *Renaissance*, 133.

90. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 50, 51, 84, and Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 142.

91. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 35, 80.

tiers of Syria near al-Jazīrah, having been sent to fight the people of Ḥimṣ. The two sent him several standards to dispense to whomever he pleased. Al-Musta'īn ordered him to report to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) after leaving behind a suitable replacement for himself. But Mūsā went to al-Mu'tazz and joined with him, while 'Abdallāh b. Bughā the Younger came to Baghdad. He had tarried in Sāmarrā when his father left the city with al-Musta'īn. 'Abdallāh now apologized to al-Musta'īn and said to his father, "I have come to you to die under your stirrup." He stayed in Baghdad for a few days before asking permission to leave for a village near Baghdad on the road to al-Anbār. Permission was granted to him, and he stayed there till nightfall when he fled through the West Side to Sāmarrā, avoiding his father and lying (*mumāliyan*) to him. He apologized to al- [1555]
Mu'tazz for having gone to Baghdad and told him that he went there only to gather information about them and come back to him with the truth. Al-Mu'tazz accepted this explanation and returned him to his post.

Al-Ḥasan b. Afshīn came to Baghdad and al-Musta'īn bestowed robes of honor upon him. In addition he attached a large contingent of the Ushrūsaniyyah and others to his command, and increased his military allotments by sixteen thousand dirhams per month.

Asad b. Dāwūd Siyāh stayed at Sāmarrā until he fled the city. The Turks reportedly pursued him in the direction of Mosul, al-Anbār and along the western bank (of the Tigris). Fifty horsemen were sent after him in each direction. But he arrived at Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) and came to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, who gave him command of a hundred horsemen and two hundred infantry drawn from the troops of Ibrāhīm al-Dayraj. In addition he was given charge of Bāb al-Anbār together with 'Abdallāh b. Mūsā b. Abī Khālid.

On Saturday, the twenty-third of al-Muḥarram, 251 (February 24, 865), al-Mu'tazz charged his brother, Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil, to do battle with al-Musta'īn and Ibn Ṭāhir, giving him full command of the army and supreme authority. The administration he gave to Kalbātikīn al-Turkī. Abū Aḥmad encamped in al-Qāṭūl[92] with five thousand Turks and Farāghinah, and two thousand Ma-

92. Since Qāṭūl is in Sāmarrā's vicinity, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 174, IV, 297, and Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 256, this camp was then only a staging ground for the troops and not a camp for actual combat.

ghāribah under the command of Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Maghribī. They arrived at 'Ukbarā' Friday evening, the twenty-ninth of al-Muḥarram (March 2, 865). Abū Aḥmad led the prayers there and declared the caliphate of al-Mu'tazz (from the pulpit); he then sent a copy of his sermon to al-Mu'tazz. Some people of 'Ukbarā' reported
[1556] that they had seen the Turks, the Maghāribah and the rest of their followers extremely frightened when they noticed that Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh had already come out to surprise them into war. They started looting the villages between 'Ukbarā' and Baghdad. The populace residing between 'Ukbarā', Baghdad, and Awāna[93] and in the remaining villages on the western bank fled for their lives, leaving the estates and the harvest behind. Estates were laid waste, harvest (crops) and household items were looted, houses were demolished, and people on the road were robbed.

When Abū Aḥmad reached 'Ukbarā' with his troops, a contingent of Turks among the mawlās of Bughā al-Sharābī, who were with him in Baghdad and who were attached to his command, fled at night through the Shammāsiyyah Gate. Commanding the gate was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Khaṭṭāb, but he did not know of their escapade. When news of this reached Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, he became angry with him and chastized him, and he offered recompense to anyone who would take charge of guarding the gates and defending them. When al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn came to Baghdad he was put in charge of the Shammāsiyyah Gate. When Abū Aḥmad and his army reached Shammāsiyyah on Sunday evening, the seventh of Ṣafar (March 10, 865), he was accompanied by the following: his secretary Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Bishr b. Sa'd al-Marthidī, an army intelligence officer (*ṣāḥib khabar*) working for al-Mu'tazz, al-Ḥasan b.
[1557] 'Amr b. Qimāsh, and one of his own called Ja'far b. Aḥmad al-Bayān[94] also known as Ibn al-Khabbāzah.

A man from al-Baṣrah known as Bādhinjānah, who was with the army, said:

Oh! Sons of Ṭāhir the Soldiers of God have
come up against you carrying death along in their ranks,

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93. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 50.
94. The text is unvocalized and could be read as tabbān, banān, etc.

And armies led by Abū Aḥmad
indeed a good man in charge and an excellent supporter.

When Abū Aḥmad reached the Shammāsiyyah Gate, al-Mustaʿīn appointed al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl in charge of that Gate and assigned the commanders there to be his aides. He remained positioned there during the period of war until he set out for al-Anbār, at which time Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm was appointed in his stead. On the thirteenth of Ṣafar (March 16, 865), a spy came to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and reported that Abū Aḥmad had recruited people to burn the market awnings on both sides of Baghdad; the coverings were thus removed that same day.

It was reported that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh sent Muḥammad b. Mūsā the astrologer and al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl with orders to leave the (city) from the West Side and climb past the army of Abū Aḥmad in [1558] order to estimate its numbers. Muḥammad b. Mūsā claimed that he estimated it as two thousand men and one thousand animals. On Monday, the tenth of Ṣafar (March 13, 865), the Turkish vanguards came to the Shammāsiyyah Gate and positioned themselves next to it; whereupon Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh sent al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, al-Shāh b. Mīkāl and Bundār al-Ṭabarī together with their troops against them. He himself was about to ride out to battle when al-Shāh came to him and reported that he (al-Shāh) and his men reached the Shammāsiyyah Gate, but the Turks, having seen the standards and the battle flags coming in their direction, returned to their camp. Al-Shāh and al-Ḥusayn thus departed and Muḥammad decided against riding out that day. But on Tuesday, the eleventh of Ṣafar (March 14, 865), Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh decided to send the army to al-Qufṣ[95] in order to review them there and put fear in the hearts of the Turks.

Bughā and Waṣīf rode along with him wearing coats of mail. Muḥammed wore Ṭāhir's breast-plate above his own coat of mail, as well as an iron sleeve. He took along jurists and judges with the intention of calling upon the enemy to turn back from their longstanding rebellion and obstinacy. He offered them a guarantee,

95. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 146. See also Ṭabarī, index. A suburb of Baghdad, Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 382.

promising that Abū 'Abdallāh (al-Mu'tazz) would be the heir apparent to al-Musta'īn. If they would accept his offer, well and good; otherwise, he would begin hostilities on the morning of Wednesday, the twelfth of Ṣafar (March 15, 865). Muḥammad then marched to the
[1559] Qaṭrabbul Gate[96] and dismounted at the bank of the Tigris together with Waṣīf and Bughā; he could go no further on account of the crowds. Opposing them on the eastern side of the Tigris was Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Maghribī. Afterwards Muḥammad departed.

In the morning, he was met by messengers from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Khaṭṭāb Wajh al-Fals, 'Alak the commander, and other officers who were with the two. They informed him that the army had drawn near and had returned to their base near Raqqat al-Shammāsiyyah where they dismounted and set up their tents.[97] He sent word to them, "Don't initiate hostilities. If they attack, do not attack them. Defensive action is the order of the day." Twelve horsemen of the Turks came up to the Shammāsiyyah Gate. It was protected by a (fortified) gate and an arched way (*sarāb*) which itself had a gate. The twelve horsemen stood at the gate and cursed those who protected it. Then they shot their arrows, but the defenders at the Shammāsiyyah Gate turned a deaf ear to them. When they persisted, 'Alak gave orders to the man at the mangonel to fire at them; he did, and hit one of them, killing him. His companions dismounted, and carried him back to their camp by the Shammāsiyyah Gate. 'Abdallāh b. Sulaymān, the lieutenant of Waṣīf the Turk, who was sent to guard the Mecca Road with Abū al-Sāj, returned with three hundred men of the Shākiriyyah and presented himself to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, who bestowed five robes of honor upon him and four upon another man who accompanied him.

[1560] On that day, a bedouin from the Tha'labah presented himself seeking to enlist; he had fifty men with him. Also arriving were forty Shākiriyyah who came from Sāmarrā in various companies. Muḥammad issued orders to give them bonuses and a place to camp; they were subsequently paid.

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96. On the north side of Baghdad along the Ṭāhirid Trench. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, map facing p. 107.

97. For Raqqah, see n. 84 above. The attacking army seems to have taken the plain of the Shammāsiyyah as their camping grounds.

The Turks arriving at the Shammāsiyyah Gate this day were shot at with arrows and from mangonels and ballistas. Among them were many dead and wounded. The commanding officer fighting the Turks was al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl; he was reinforced by four hundred of the Muṭallibīn under the command of a man known as Abū al-Sanā al-Ghanawī, and later by a group of about three hundred bedouins. Those who fought well that day were rewarded with gifts including twenty-five thousand dirhams, and gold necklaces and bracelets. These were given to al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Alak, Yaḥyā b. Harthamah, al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn and the chief of staff (*ṣaḥīb al-ḥarb*) al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl. The wounded among the people of Baghdad amounted to more than two hundred persons; also, a number of them were killed. The same was true of the dead and wounded among the Turks; most of the killing was done by the mangonels. Most of the general populace at Baghdad were routed; those with the mats stood fast and then withdrew completely, suffering an equal number of dead and wounded. It was reported that about two hundred men were wounded from each faction and a number were killed.

On this day a squadron of Farāghinah and Turks came to the [1561] Khurāsān Gate on the East Side[98] in order to enter (the city). The commotion was heard by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, but the Mubayyiḍah and the rabble stood firm and drove them back. Muḥammad had given orders that the area be ploughed; so, when the enemy tried to withdraw their mounts became stuck in the mud, but still most of them managed to escape. The Turks now brought in a mangonel, but the rabble and the Mubayyiḍah overwhelmed it, breaking one of its supports—two of the pilgrims from Shāsh[99] were killed. The order was given to bring burnt bricks from Qaṣr al-Ṭīn[100] and that area to the Shammāsiyyah Gate. The Shammāsiyyah Gate itself was opened, and people went out to get the bricks and bring them inside the wall. Afterwards, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh received word that a group of Turks had marched to the vicinity of al-Nahrawān.[101] He

98. This should be distinguished from the gates with the same name in New Baghdad, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 281, 288 and in the Round City, ibid., 17, 24, 101, 105.
99. A district in Tashkand. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 480–483.
100. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 201.
101. That is, just east of Baghdad, and actually adjacent to it. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 324–325.

therefore sent two of his commanders to that area; they were called ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd al-Sarakhsī and Yaḥyā b. Ḥafṣ, who was known as Ḥabūs. The two commanded five hundred cavalry and infantry. Muḥammad subsequently reinforced them with seven hundred men, ordering them to establish their position there and rebuff any of the Turks who wished to seize it. The last of them set out for that district on Friday, the seventh of Ṣafar (March 10, 865). On the
[1562] evening of Monday, the sixteenth of Ṣafar (March 19, 865), a contingent of Turks marched to al-Nahrawān. A group of ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd's followers came out to challenge them but turned around and fled. Their mounts were seized, and those who were able to save themselves withdrew to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) in flight. Around fifty men were killed and sixty mounts were taken together with several mules that had previously arrived from the vicinity of Ḥulwān laden with weapons. The Turks sent them to Sāmarrā, along with the heads of those killed. These were the first heads to reach Sāmarrā during that war. When ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd departed in defeat with a few remaining followers, the road to Khurāsān fell into the hands of the Turks, and traffic between Baghdad and Khurāsān was cut. Ismāʿīl b. Farāshah had been sent to Hamadhān to make a stand there, but word was sent to him to withdraw, which he did. He and his men were then given bonuses that were due them.

Al-Muʿtazz now sent out an army of Turks, Maghāribah, Farāghinah, and their like. Al-Durghumān al-Farghānī was in command of the Turks and the Farāghinah, and Ratlah[102] led the Maghāribah. They marched against Baghdad from the west bank (of the Tigris) and penetrated Qaṭrabbul en route to the city. They encamped between Qaṭrabbul and the Fief of Umm Jaʿfar on Tuesday evening, the seventeenth of Ṣafar (March 20, 865). The following morning, that is Wednesday, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir sent (out) al-Shāh b. Mīkāl from the Gate of the Fief, accompanied by
[1563] Bundār and Khālid b. ʿImrān with their troops of cavalry and infantry. Al-Shāh and his companions lined their men in rows and began casting stones and shooting arrows, but the enemy forced al-Shāh to retreat to a narrow place near the Gate of the Fief. The Mubayyiḍah of Baghdad now gathered in large numbers and, together with al-

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102. The reading is uncertain. It could also be Rablah, Zaylah, etc.

Shāh, they all charged in unison and displaced the Turks, the Maghāribah and their companions from their positions. The Mubayyiḍah charged on and managed to clear the area of them. The Ṭabariyyah attacked, in turn, and engaged them in battle while Bundār and Khālid b. ʿImrān attacked them from an ambush they had laid for them in the vicinity of Qaṭrabbul. They put the followers of Abū Aḥmad to the sword, Turks and others among them, and killed huge numbers of them. Only a few escaped.

The Mubayyiḍah looted their camp, taking everything in it, including furnishings, household members, heavy baggage, tents, and odds and ends. All those escaping death threw themselves into the Tigris to cross over to Abū Aḥmad's camp. They were, however, seized by the troops on the river boats (*shabbārah*), which had been loaded with fighting men. The enemy were thus either killed or taken prisoner; the dead (bodies) and the heads of the dead from among the Turks, the Maghāribah and others were placed in skiffs. Some of them were hung, either on the two bridges,[103] or on the gate of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's (palace). Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh gave orders that those who fought valiantly that day were to be rewarded with bracelets. A great number of men from the regular army and others were thus given bracelets. The fleeing enemy were [1564]
sought; some of them reached Awānā, while others reached the camp of Abū Aḥmad, across the Tigris. Still others reached as far as Sāmarrā. It was reported that on the day of its defeat by the Gate of the Fief the Turkish army numbered four thousand men; two thousand were killed there the day of (that) battle. They had been put to the sword from the Gate of the Fief to al-Qufṣ. There were those who were slain in battle and those who were drowned; a number of them were also taken prisoner.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallạh bestowed four robes of honor on Bundār, one woven type (*mulḥam*), one of *washy*, one black (*sawād*) and one silk (*khazz*). In addition he gave him a gold necklace. He also bestowed four robes of honor on Abū al-Sanā and (gave) the same to Khālid b. ʿImrān and to each of the commanders. They departed on the day of battle around sunset, after requisitioning mules and taking saddle bags to transport the heads to Baghdad. Anyone reaching

103. That is, probably the upper and the main bridges spanning the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 122f, 102.

the palace of Muḥammad with the head of a Turk or a Maghribī was given fifty dirhams; most of the work was done by the Mubayyiḍah and the drifters (*ʿayyārūn*).[104] The drifters of Baghdad then came to Qaṭrabbul and looted whatever furnishings the Turks had left behind belonging to the people of Qaṭrabbul as well as the doors of their houses.

Towards the end of this day, Muḥammad sent his brother, Abū Aḥmad ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh, and al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal to follow
[1565] the tracks of those who fled in an attempt to safe-guard the people of Baghdad, for he was afraid that they would return to the attack. The two reached as far as al-Qufṣ and returned safely after having dispersed the infantry and the drifters in the vicinity of Qaṭrabbul. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh was then counselled to send (another) army after the enemy on the second day and that night in order to follow relentlessly in their tracks, but he refused and did not follow those who escaped, nor did he give the order to finish off the wounded; it was said that he felt the confidence of complete security. He then gave orders to Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd to compose a document describing that battle. The document was subsequently read to the populace of Baghdad in the Friday Mosque. The text reads as follows:

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate.

Thanks to the Beneficent Lord who cannot be sufficiently thanked, the Mighty who cannot be opposed, the All-Powerful whose obedience is not humiliating. He is the Fair Judge whose judgement cannot be overruled, and the supporter of the truth and its advocates. He is the inescapable Owner of everything, the true Guide to mercy for those who are obedient to Him. He exhibits His forbearance in order to exact His claim.

He granted His religion out of compassion for His servants, and made the succession over the guardianship of His religion a virtue. The obedience to His caliph is a duty incumbent upon the whole nation, for the caliphs are the protectors on this earth of the message that He had entrusted to His prophets and His
[1566] trustees over His creation. They have been called to His religion

104. For this organized group, see Dūrī, *Abḥāth*, 16, and EI^2, I, 794.

and have been shown the passage to the truth, and thus have been protected from error.

He is the Guide to the path of the Chosen Ones of His servants. They are the guardians of religion against sedition and rebellion. They hold against other nations the Book of God that grants them their authority; and to it they call the nation in accordance with God's justice for which they had been chosen.

When they fight, God's claim will be on their side. And when they go to war He will ordain victory for them. If they are sought by an enemy, God's protection will be a shelter for them and a stronghold. If anyone plots against them, God will be their aid. God has appointed them to uphold His religion, and whoever opposes them would oppose the religion which God has fortified through them. Whoever resists them would be rebelling against the truth that God defends through them.

Their armies are always crowned with victory and glory. Their forces are guarded by God's might from their foes. Their arms are for the defense of God's religion. And their zeal for the defense of the truth encompasses all of their factions. All bands of their enemies are defeated by their own injustices—their claim in the eyes of God and His creation being of no value—and their attempts at victory are in vain. God ordains defeat to these enemies, and their destinies are put in the hands of God's servants, as it has been the case with all nations of times past. [1567]
God does that in order that the people of the truth are assured of the execution of His forewarnings and the enemy is fairly dealt with by admonishments. God's anger is quickly dealt to them through His servants. And punishment awaits them with their Lord. Ahead of them is the shame of this world, and behind them is the torment in the hereafter. God was never unjust to His servants. May His prayers be upon His chosen prophet, His favored messenger, the rescuer from error and the guide to the right path. May it be a perfect and continuous prayer of everlasting blessings, and may His salutations be upon him.

May humble praise be accepted by the Lord as a sign of His majesty, and a confession of His lordship. May it be an admission of the incompatibility of our highest thanks with His dignity, for our thanks are always lacking. Praise be to the Lord

whose praise elicits further praise, and through it He exhibits the extent of His beneficence. May it be a praise that pleases Him. May He accept it and allow it to shine forth as it issues from His sovereignty and His graciousness. Praise be to the Lord Who has decreed unquestionable defeat to those who trespass against the people of His religion, for He had already promised victory to His supporters who had been transgressed against. He revealed His Glorious book as a counsel to the transgressors; for if they were to abstain, such a reminder would be useful, and God will fulfill the desires of the obedient among them. God has also decreed that after reminding the transgressors one should persist in fighting them, for he had said in His fore-
[1568] warning and clear admonishing, "Those who have been victims of transgression, God will grant them victory".[105] Indeed it is an assured promise from God in which He prohibits His enemies from disobeying Him, and He strengthens His faithful in His path; and God does not break His promise.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the client of the Commander of the Faithful, is a chief supporter of God's cause. He is the sword of the caliph's authority, a defender of his sovereignty, and an object of his trust. He is in the forefront of those giving obedience to him and giving counsel to his servants. He is a protector of his rights, and a fighter of his enemies. He is a favor granted by God to the Commander of the Faithful; may he be grateful for it and may it endure. God had decreed that the ancestors of the Commander of the Faithful be destined to issue the first call [to righteousness], and to him He granted their heritage. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh enabled him to establish his rule when the enemies of God attempted to suppress His religion and obliterate it. He rose in the cause of God and His caliph; he fought for its support by giving advice to those who were near and far, and by devoting himself to that which brings him closer to God and insures his position with Him. God favored the Commander of the Faithful by this client who guided him to the truth and

105. Qur.: 22:60 "That [is so]. And whoso hath retaliated with the like of that which he has made to suffer and then hath again been wronged, Allāh will succor him. Lo! Allāh verily is Mild, Forgiving."

helped him in establishing goodness against the enemies of religion.

You have already learned of the contents of the message of the Commander of the Faithful to you concerning the deeds of the band that strayed from the path of God, and forsook the dignity of religion. Those were ungrateful for the graces of God and His caliph, and were against the majority of the community whose order was bound together by God's caliphate. They at- [1569]
tempted to sow dissention in place of unity, thereby betraying the oath of allegiance, and denying their fellowship to Islam. I mean the Turkish clients who supported the youth known as Abū ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mutawakkil in order to set him up as Commander of the Faithful when he descended to Baghdad leading a group of his own supporters and the sons of his father's supporters. You have also learned of the way the Commander of the Faithful has dealt with their treason and his patience with them.

But these defectors had gathered around them a group of Turks, Maghāribah and bands of deception who have all joined them in error and merged with them in support of their rebellion. These bands were led by Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil. They marched against the East Side of Baghdad upholding injustice and arrogance and persevering in support of deception. The Commander of the Faithful was patient with them, gave them a chance to reconsider, and ordered that a message be sent to them to guide them to the wise course. He reminded them of their allegiance and clarified to them their duties towards God and himself—that their rebellion against their voluntary oath of allegiance was a rebellion against the religion of God and a rejection of His prophet. He reminded them that their acts would prohibit them from access to their possessions and their wives; and that if they were to rally around him they would have the security of their religion, continuation of their prosperity and [1570]
protection from wrath. He detailed to them his previous graciousness to them, when he promoted them to the highest ranks and selected them for the most supreme positions. They refused to heed counsel and persisted in their rebellion and error. The Commander of the Faithful appointed his loyal coun-

sellor and supporter, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the client of the Commander of the Faithful, to take charge of them, to call them to the truth, while they had a chance, and to ask them to repent; otherwise, if they perservered in their error by going astray and rushing headlong into deception, he was to fight them. He did not spare them any chance of admonishment, guidance, persuasion and advice. But they kept raising their voices, threatening to put the people of Baghdad to the sword and seize their women and possessions.

Moreover, while following the path of the idolators, they never missed an opportunity to raid or destroy every inhabited district on their way, and to desecrate the inviolable [rights] of Muslims and others. They killed helpless Muslims and appropriated their possessions. Because of that, many who had heard they were coming their way fled their districts, abandoned their habitations and dwellings, and ran to the door of the Commander of the Faithful to take refuge from this devastation. They did not leave one rich person without appropriating his wealth, nor
[1571] did they leave a God-fearing person without defiling his womenfolk and dependents. They did not differentiate between Muslims and others, and devastated both in the same manner without heeding any prohibitions concerning bloodshed or sanctity. They received the threat of war, but responded to it by persevering in their iniquity and countered good advice with further contemplation of evil.

As they thronged at the Shammāsiyyah Gate, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the servant of the Commander of the Faithful, had already amassed armies there as well as at the other gates of Baghdad, all clad in full armor and prepared for war. These armies took refuge in their dependence on God, and defended themselves with His obedience. Their banners were the claim of God's greatness and they upheld them in the face of their enemy.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the servant of the Commander of the Faithful, ordered them to fortify their lines and to abstain from war as much as possible. The faithful thus dealt with them by counsel and advice, while the rebellious answered with war. They kept on provoking them for days in great numbers and with weapons, assuming that no one could defeat them—not

knowing that the power of God is greater than theirs, and His commandments, unlike their desires, are always realized. His decrees are just and He would support those who are on the right course against them [the defectors].

On Saturday, middle of Ṣafar [March 17, 865], they all gathered at the Shammāsiyyah Gate and raised their banners, pro- [1572] claiming their battle cry and fortifying themselves with their weapons. Anyone observing them then would have thought that no warning would dissuade them from bloodshed nor from seizing both women and possessions. The faithful counselled them but they would not listen. They admonished them but they would not yield and, instead, went further and commenced hostilities. At that time the faithful rushed against them, seeking the help of God and confident that their will would be realized by Him. They waged war against them until the afternoon of that day. God killed great numbers of their defenders, cavalry, chiefs and leaders of their infamy, and wounded the great majority of their masses. When the enemies of God and His religion saw that He denied their hopes, stood between them and their ambitions, and turned their fortune into a tragedy, they mobilized a large army of Turks and Maghāribah from Sāmarrā with full gear, weapons and fighting machines.[106] Then they came up against the West Side of Baghdad intending treachery and hoping to have their way with God's people, for they thought that the latter were busy fighting on the East Side.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the servant of the Commander of the Faithful, had anticipated that and had amassed men and weapons on both sides of Baghdad. He also appointed for each area someone who would guard it and defend it from the affliction of this enemy. Over each gate he appointed a general with a great number of followers and ordered that the wall be guarded [1573] day and night. He also sent men to gather information about the enemies of God, their movements, their march, and their camps. He sought details of their condition in order to control every situation, so that, with God's help, he could defeat them.

106. The text has *wa-lijuld*, which should be read *wa-l-juld*, that is "robust men." But since several weapons of that period were made of skin, *jild*, and since it is parallel to *asliḥah*, it may be a reference to war machines protected by skin.

On Wednesday, the eighteenth of Ṣafar (March 21, 865), the mobilized army of the rebels arrived on the West Side of Baghdad by the Qaṭrabbul Gate, and took their position across from the camp of their followers who were on the east bank of the Tigris. Their numbers had by then filled the horizon and covered an immense stretch of space. They had agreed that they would approach the gates together in order to engage the faithful in a war on both fronts and, thus, weaken them and defeat their truth with their own deception. But God frustrated their false hopes and realized His decree by thwarting their ambitions.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh set against them Muḥammad b. ʿAwn, Bundār b. Mūsā al-Ṭabarī, the servants of the Commander of the Faithful, and ʿAbdallāh b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah at the Qaṭrabbul Gate. His orders were that these commanders fear God, obey Him and heed His commandments. They were to behave in accordance with His Book, and not to wage war until their admonitions had been well heard. Only then would they be free of blame for attacking the enemy which still persevered in rushing into evil.

[1574] They went out in an army that matched that of the rebels, but these were well guided by their duty to God while in combat. They advanced in full confidence of reward in the hereafter and recompense here and now. They were met by the enemies of God who charged at them with lance in hand, seeking their throats, thinking that it was the opportune time for the thief and the marauder to earn his loot.

They were admonished with clear, good advice, but it fell on deaf ears and blind eyes. The faithful kept their promise, however, and met them with unified hearts and the full knowledge that God would fulfill His promise to them. The cavalry charged the enemy more than once, followed by lances, swords and arrows. The pain began to surge from their wounds, and war was tearing at them with its teeth, mauling them under its millstone; once they realized that they were pursued by warriors thirsty for blood, they took to flight as God dealt them His mighty blow. A great number of those who did not fear the affliction of God, who did not repent nor take refuge from His punishment by reestablishing their loyalty, were killed.

Then they were reinforced from their camp by some one thousand men in ships, who encouraged them further in their transgression. They came up against the faithful at the Shammāsiyyah Gate, and war surged again. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh set against them Khālid b. ʿImrān and al-Shāh b. Mīkāl, the servant of Ṭāhir, who charged at them without hesitation and with unfailing will. They were accompanied by al-ʿAbbās b. Qārin, [1575]
the servant of the Commander of the Faithful. When al-Shāh and his company came up against the enemies of God, he set guards at the positions which could be infiltrated by assailants and then joined the other commanders in a unified assault, fearing no threats and being completely assured of God's support and victory. They fell on them with their swords, executing God's decrees against them, until they chased them back to their camp and well beyond it. Once in flight the faithful looted all their weapons, animals and war machinery.

Many a dead body was abandoned on the very spot where death came upon it, while the head was moved to a place where it could be a lesson for others. Many a man ran away from the sword only to be drowned, and God did not offer him any refuge. Many a prisoner was brought in shackles to the dwellings of the faithful and God's party. Many a man escaped with his life after God had filled his heart with fear. With God's assistance, defeat was dealt out to both those who came up on the West Side and those who crossed over from the East Side to help them; no one escaped. No one took refuge in repentance, and no one came forth to the side of God.

Four bands[107] were to be fed to the fire, and punishment was quickly meted out to them in order that it be an exhortation and an advice to those who comprehend [*ūlī al-abṣār*]. Their example was the one intended by God, may He be exalted: "Hast [1576]
thou not seen those who exchanged the bounty of God with unthankfulness, and caused their people to dwell in the abode of ruin? — Gehenna, wherein they are roasted; an evil establishment".[108]

But war raged on between the faithful and the dissenters on

107. The text is difficult here. One cannot determine which four are intended.
108. Qur. 14:28.

the East Side. The killing spread amongst their warriors, and the wounds were laying them low. They saw the destruction that God had dealt to their fellow supporters, and the vengeance He meted out to them. They found themselves without a shelter from God's wrath. They had no refuge nor a hiding place from those who were faithful to Him. They saw that, and they fled in defeat and disarray after learning the lesson of their erring brethren and their bands of deceivers. They themselves were also bewildered when they saw God's victory granted to His soldiers and the aid He gave to His faithful.

Praise be to God, Lord of all Creation, the Oppressor of the evil ones who dissent from His religion, the transgressors who rebel against His pledge, and the hypocrites who revolt against those of His domain. May it be a praise that secures His utmost satisfaction, and may God's prayers and many salutations, first and last, be upon Muḥammad, His servant and messenger, who guides to His path and calls to Him by His permission.

That was written by Saʿīd b. Ḥamīd on Saturday, the seventh of Ṣafar (March 10, 865).[109]

On Tuesday the seventeenth of Ṣafar (March 20, 865), Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh rode to the Shammāsiyyah Gate and ordered the destruction of the houses, shops and gardens behind the wall of Baghdad. He also ordered that the palm trees and shrubbery be cut down there. The razing and cutting was to extend from the Shammāsiyyah Gate up to Three Gates[110] in order to make room for the men fighting in that area.

[1577] The Caliph had had over seventy donkeys loaded with money sent from the districts of Fars and al-Ahwāz to Baghdad. The Commander Mankajūr b. Qārin al-Ushrūsanī was reportedly in command. Abū Aḥmad and the Turks discharged Ibn Bābak with a force of three hundred cavalry and infantry to Ṭabaristān to intercept this

109. This date is obviously a later insertion since most of the events described in the dispatch took place a few days later than the tenth of March, 865. The twenty-fourth of Ṣafar, 251 (March 25, 865), the seventh day before the end of Ṣafar, is preferable.

110. This area was to the northeast of the Shammāsiyyah quarter which itself was north of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 203. The way the name Thalāthat Abwāb is used in the sources suggests a specific locality rather than any "three gates." See also Lassner, *Topography*, 263, n. 13.

money if it came to that province. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, however, sent his own general by the name of Yaḥyā b. Ḥafṣ to transport that money. For fear of Ibn Bābak, the latter diverted it from Ṭabaristān. When Ibn Bābak knew that the money had escaped him, he marched with his company to al-Nahrawān,[111] and together with the regular troops accompanying him, he attacked the inhabitants, forcing most of them from the town. He then set the boats of the pontoon bridge aflame[112]—there were more than twenty boats—before he departed to Sāmarrā.

Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Yazīd now advanced—al-Mustaʿīn had entrusted him with the frontier areas of al-Jazīrah. The former had been positioned in the administrative center (*madīnah*) of Balad[113] to wait for the troops and money coming to him. But when the Turks rebelled and al-Mustaʿīn took to Baghdad his only route to the city was by way of al-Raqqah.[114] Thus he went to al-Raqqah with his special retainers and his troops, about four hundred horsemen and infantry. Following that, he left the city and went down to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām). Having entered it on Tuesday, the seventeenth of Ṣafar (March 20, 865), he went to the palace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir who presented him with five cloaks of honor: a garment of embroidered brocade (*dabīq*)[115], (one of) silk, one distinguished by colorful embroidery, and a black one. He then sent him at the head of a large army to fight Ayyūb b. Aḥmad. Ibn Yazīd sailed [1578]
along the Euphrates and then engaged Ayyūb in combat with a small group. The former was routed and subsequently returned to his village in the Sawād.

Saʿīd b. Ḥamīd (reported the following.) When word of Muḥammad b. Khālid's flight reached Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the latter said, "No Arab could succeed unless accompanied by a prophet through whom God offers assistance."

On this day the Turks engaged in a battle at the Shammāsiyyah Gate. They had come up to the gate and dispersed the defenders after heavy fighting. They shot naphtha and fire at the mangonel which

111. For al-Nahrawān, just east of Baghdad, see n. 101 above, and Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 217, 307.

112. On the pontoon bridges, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 42, n. 1.

113. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 90.

114. That is, along the Euphrates, ibid., 4, 86.

115. An Egyptian brocade, see ibid., 294, and Mez, *Renaissance*, 460.

had been erected at the left side of the gate, but their fire did not affect it. The troops defending the gate grew too strong for them and succeeded in dislodging the Turks from their positions. They pushed them back from the gate, but only after the latter had killed a number of Baghdadis and wounded many others with arrows. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh now dispatched against them eight ballistas carried in vessels and skiffs. Using these weapons, he subjected the defenders to an intense bombardment which took a great toll among them—some one hundred men. The defenders were now forced to retreat from the gate. On this day, one of the Maghāribah came to the wall of the Shammāsiyyah (Gate) and cast grappling hooks. The hooks caught and he ascended the wall. Those entrusted with guarding the wall seized and killed him, and then used the mangonel to cast his head to the Turkish camp. At this, the Turks retreated to their camp.

It was also said that some of the Abnāʾ,[116] who were among those
[1579] entrusted with defending the wall of the Shammāsiyyah Gate, became terrified when they saw the throng of Turks and Maghāribah who came there that day. They had approached with their banners and drums, when one of the Maghāribah cast a grappling hook that found the wall. One defender wanted to yell "Victory to Mustaʿīn," but erred and called out "Victory to al-Muʿtazz." Some of those guarding the gate thought that he was a Maghribī, whereupon they killed him and sent his head to the residence of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, who ordered that it be displayed in public. That evening, his mother and brother brought his body on a stretcher, screaming and demanding his head. It was not given to them but remained displayed at the head of the bridge until it was brought down together with the other heads.

On Friday evening, the twenty-first of Ṣafar (March 24, 865), a group of Turks reached the Baradān Gate, which was commanded by Muḥammad b. Rajāʾ—this was before he went down to the Wāsiṭ area. He killed six of them and captured four.

On one of those days al-Durghumān, a courageous hero, came with the Turks to the Shammāsiyyah Gate and was hit by a stone fired from a mangonel that struck him in the chest. He was taken to

116. See n. 31, above.

Sāmarrā but died between Buṣrā[117] and 'Ukbarā'.[118] (His body) was then transported to Sāmarrā.

Yaḥyā b. al-'Akkī, the Maghribī commander, reported that one day he was next to al-Durghumān when the latter caught a Nawākī[119] arrow that struck his eye. Following that he was hurt with a stone which split his head. He was (already) dead when he [1580] was carried away.

'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Rāmī (reported the following incident). We had gathered a group of bowmen at the wall by the Shammāsiyyah Gate. A Maghribī used to draw near the gate, bare his rear end, and fart giving a yell. One day, I selected an arrow for him, and shot it right through his anus. It came out at his throat as he fell dead. A group of men exited from the gate and hung him for public display; afterwards, the Maghāribah came and carried him away.

The rabble reportedly gathered in Sāmarrā after the Turks had been routed during the battle for the Qaṭrabbul Gate. Realizing the weakness of al-Mu'tazz, they looted the markets of the jewellers, the swordsmiths and the money-exchangers, taking everything they found there. The merchants then gathered with Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad, the brother of al-Mu'tazz, and complained to him, saying that the authorities had guaranteed them their possessions and promised to look after them. He retorted, "You should have taken your possessions to your houses." That reply made him appear haughty.

On Saturday, the twenty-first of Ṣafar (March 24, 865), Najūbah b. Qays b. Abī al-Sa'dī advanced with his bedouin recruits[120]—they numbered six hundred men on foot and two hundred horsemen. On this day too, ten notables of Tarsūs came forward to complain of Balkajūr. They claimed that two hours after receiving a (copy) of that oath of allegiance to al-Mu'tazz, he went out demanding (that [1581] others sign) the oath of allegiance to him. Thus Balkajūr received the oath on behalf of al-Mu'tazz from the commanders and the people of the frontier regions. Most of them swore allegiance, but a few declined; the latter were beaten, fettered or put in jail. Some

117. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 50.
118. See n. 90, above.
119. For Nawākī, see the Leiden edition of Ṭabarī, Glossary, Dxxxv.
120. That is, those whose names had been inscribed on the military roll.

reportedly refused and fled when he demanded their allegiance against their wishes. To that Waṣīf retorted, "I can only say that the man was deceived and that the carrier of al-Muʿtazz's missive to him was al-Layth b. Bābak; the latter told him that al-Mustaʿīn had died and that they [the military] had replaced him with al-Muʿtazz." But this group persisted in their complaint concerning Balkajūr, pointing out that he acted intentionally, and accusing him of favoring the sons of al-Wāthiq.[121] Then a letter from Balkajūr arrived on Wednesday, the twenty-fifth of Ṣafar (March 28, 865). It came with a man called ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn—he was known as Ibn al-Ṣuʿlūk. The letter stated that he (Balkajūr) had received a communication from Abū ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mutawakkil that the latter had assumed the caliphate, and thus he swore allegiance to him; but (it continued) when al-Mustaʿīn's letter came revealing the truth, he again sought the oath of allegiance from those beholden to him, and he, himself, would heed and obey al-Mustaʿīn. The messenger was given one thousand dirhams which he accepted. A letter had been drafted to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Armanī, who was known as Abū Naṣr, charging him with responsibility for the Syrian frontier regions; but after the arrival of Balkajūr's letter of obedience, the letter of appointment to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Armanī was withheld.

On Monday, the twenty-third of Ṣafar, 251 (March 26, 865), Ismāʿīl b. Farāshah advanced from the district of Hamadhān at the head of three hundred cavalry. His (entire) force contained fifteen
[1582] hundred scattered men, some of whom arrived before the others. Accompanying him was a messenger who had been sent by al-Muʿtazz in order to exact his oath of allegiance (on behalf of the pretender). He had him fettered and brought him to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) on a bare-back mule. Ismāʿīl was then given five cloaks of honor. He also arrived with a man, reportedly an ʿAlid, who had been seized in the vicinity of al-Rayy and Ṭabaristān. He had been sent to the ʿAlids there. With the ʿAlid were pack animals and slaves (*ghilmān*). Orders were given that he be detained in the Public Audi-

121. For al-Wāthiq, Hārūn b. al-Muʿtaṣim, the ninth ʿAbbāsid caliph and the uncle of al-Mustaʿīn, see Kutubī, *Fawāt*, IV, 228–230. Balkajūr is being accused here of defection from al-Mustaʿīn's camp, and of his support for the house of al-Wāthiq which produced the fourteenth caliph al-Muhtadī, who came to power after al-Muʿtazz, in 869.

ence Hall for several months, but he was released after a surety was extracted from him.

On this day, the letter of Mūsā b. Bughā was read. In it he mentioned that al-Muʿtazz's missive had arrived, and that he had summoned his companions and told them what had transpired. He had ordered them to come with him to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām), but they had refused. The Shākiriyyah and the Abnā' had supported him, while the Turks and their supporters broke rank and fought against him. He killed several of them and took others prisoner bringing them along (to Baghdad). When this letter was read at Ibn Ṭāhir's palace, the people declared "God is Great."

On the twenty-fourth of Ṣafar (March 27, 865), ten deepwater vessels called *bawārij*[122] came up from al-Baṣrah, each carrying a ship master (*ishtiyām*),[123] three fire hurlers, a carpenter (*najjār*), a baker, and thirty-nine oarsmen and warriors. Thus every vessel had a complement of forty-five men. That night, they reached the island opposite the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir; still later they reached the Shammāsiyyah area. The men on the vessels fired upon the Turks, who then decided to move their camp from the low-lying area of al-Shammāsiyyah to Abū Jaʿfar's garden at the bridge.[124] Then it appeared to them that they should go still higher, to a place above their camp, in order to avoid the fire. [1583]

The day before the end of Ṣafar (March 31, 865), the Turks and the Maghāribah came up against the eastern gates of the city. The gates were locked in front of them, and they were assaulted with arrows, mangonels, and ballistas. Both factions suffered losses and many were wounded, but they did not cease fighting until the time of the afternoon prayer.

In this year Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh reversed the course he had set and returned from Jurjān to Ṭabaristān. He emerged from Āmul with a large force, including cavalry and weapons, whereupon al-Ḥasan b. Zayd retreated into Daylam. Sulaymān's nephew, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, then wrote to the central authorities informing them

122. For this and other names of vessels, see Kinderman, *Schiff*; for *bārijah* pl. *bawārij*, ibid., 3.

123. For *ishtiyām*, meaning *ra'īs al-rukkāb*, "chief of the passengers," see *Lisān*, XII, 319.

124. It cannot be precisely located.

that he had entered Ṭabaristān. His letter was read in Baghdad, and al-Mustaʿīn sent a copy of it to Bughā the Younger, the mawlā of the Commander of the Faithful. It mentioned the conquest of Ṭabaristān at the hands of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, the rout of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, and the safe arrival of Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh at Sāriyah.[125] It also mentioned that Māziyār and Rustam, two sons of Qārin b. Shahriyār, the mawlā of the Commander of the Faithful, had reached Sulaymān with five hundred men. And (it reported) the remaining news of the conquest. The letter also informed him that the people of Āmul came to Sulaymān, publicly repenting and seeking forgiveness for their misdeeds; he received them in a way that put
[1584] them at ease and made them feel secure. Before marching on with his force, which had been fully mobilized and was headed cross-country through the villages and highways, he ordered his men to refrain from killing and from acting in a dishonorable fashion. They were given a free hand to loot, but they were warned not to go beyond that. Furthermore, al-Mustaʿīn's missive indicated that a letter had reached him from Asad b. Jandān telling of the defeat of ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh the Ṭālibid, who was named al-Marʿashī,[126] together with his companions. They were more than one thousand men. With them were two of the chiefs of al-Jabal,[127] and a huge crowd which followed them when they heard of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd's defeat and of how Asad had entered that district with the loyalists. The original letter also noted how Sulaymān had entered Āmul in fine form, displaying an aura of invincibility and creating a sense of security; all rebellion was then quenched.

On the twenty-fifth of Muḥarram, 251 (February 26, 865), a dispatch arrived at (Baghdad) from al-ʿAlāʾ b. Aḥmad, Bughā al-Sharābī's agent responsible for the taxes and the estates of Armīniyah. The dispatch told of the uprising of two men in that district who were mentioned by name. It also reported that he attacked them and that they took refuge in a fortress. He then employed the mangonels and exhausted the defenders, whereupon the two men fled the fortress and vanished. It then fell into the hands of the loyalists.

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125. See n. 59, above.
126. As in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 183. Ṭabarī's text is unvocalized and could be read as al-Mubarnaʿash, al-Mubartaʿash, etc.
127. The text is al-Jīl; it should be read al-Jabal as in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 163.

Also in that year, a dispatch dated the nineteenth of Muḥarram (February 20, 865), brought news of an uprising (*intiqāḍ*) by the people of Ardabīl. They received a letter from the Ṭālibid who sent four armies against the four gates of their city to beseige it. [1585]

In that year, a dispatch arrived reporting the war between ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh and al-Muwaffaq al-Khārijī. It indicated how ʿĪsā had arrested al-Muwaffaq and how he then requested needed weapons of al-Mustaʿīn so that ʿĪsā might have equipment at al-Balad to arm the troops for raiding. He also requested that the governor of Tyre (al-Ṣūr)[128] be instructed to send him four fully equipped vessels to join the vessels already under his command there.

In that year, a dispatch from Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir brought news of the Ṭālibid who rebelled in al-Rayy and the surrounding area. It spoke of the armies that were prepared and sent against him, and it brought news of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd's flight while en route to al-Muḥammadiyyah[129] and of the siege layed to al-Muḥammadiyyah by Muḥammad's army. When al-Ḥasan entered al-Muḥammadiyyah he appointed officers (to guard) the roads and major highways, and he scattered his men. God granted him victory over Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar who surrendered unconditionally. Those ʿAlids who came to al-Rayy a second time after the capture of Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar were Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn the Younger b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Idrīs b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, that is, the one who rebelled when the [1586]
pilgrims ascended Mt. ʿArafāt.[130] The ʿAlid in Ṭabaristān was al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Also in this year, a dispatch from Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir reached al-Mustaʿīn reporting his defeat of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. He had met the rebel with an army of about thirty thousand and the battle ensued. Muḥammad indicated that he had killed some 340 men of his chief supporters. Al-Mustaʿīn ordered that a copy of this letter be read throughout the realm.

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128. The text reads al-Sūr instead of Ṣūr, that is Tyre, which is the only coastal city that has similar vocables.

129. That is, of al-Rayy, not to be confused with other locations of that name. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 57, 214, 215.

130. The text reads *maṣʿad al-Ḥajj*, that is, the ascent of the pilgrims to ʿArafāt which takes place during the pilgrimage in Mecca.

In this year, Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl the ʿAlid, the nephew of Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusaynī, rebelled.

In Rabīʿ I, 251 (April 2–May 1, 965), Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh ordered that the vagabonds (*ʿayyār*)[131] of Baghdad be given clubs (*kāfirkūbāt*) fashioned with iron nails to be distributed at the residence of al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal. They used to present themselves for battle without any weapons and (simply) cast bricks. He called for a herald and the latter announced, "Those who need weapons, let them come to the residence of al-Muẓaffar." The vagabonds arrived from every direction; weapons were distributed to them, and their names were registered (in the military roll).[132] These vagabonds ap-
[1587] pointed their own chief, a man called Yantawayh whose patronymic was Abū Jaʿfar, and several other (leaders) called Dūnal, Dimḥāl,[133] Abū Namlah and Abū ʿUṣārah. Only Yantawayh retained his rank as he continued to be the chief of the vagabonds of the West Side until this rebellion came to an end. When the vagabonds were given the clubs, they spread out to the gates of Baghdad. That day they killed some fifty Turks and their followers. Their own casualties were ten persons. Some five-hundred of them went out with bows and arrows, and seized two banners and two ladders (after battling) with the Turks.

In (this year), Najūbah b. Qays engaged a group of Turks in battle in the district of Bazūghā;[134] he met them there together with Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn and others. They captured seven of them and killed three, while the others threw themselves in the water; some drowned and others escaped.

Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shīrzād (reported that) he (Aḥmad) had asked one of the prisoners about the number of men who had battled Najūbah. The prisoner responded, "We were forty men. Najūbah and his companions met up with us very early in the day. Three of us were killed, three drowned, and eight were taken prisoner; the rest escaped. He also took eighteen animals, coats of mail, and a banner belonging to the governor of Awānā,[135] who was the brother of

131. See n. 104, above.

132. That is, they received combat pay.

133. It could also be Damḥāl, Dumḥāl, etc.

134. That is, about two *farsakhs* (twelve km) northeast of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 50, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 411.

135. That is, a famous town between Baghdad and Sāmarrā, some ten *farsakhs* (sixty km) north of Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 274, and Le Strange, *Lands*, 50.

Hārūn b. Shu'ayb." The battle took place at Awānā on Wednesday, [1588] and the soldiers of Najūbah and 'Abdallāh b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah remained armed at Qaṭrabbul.

During one of those days, Yantawayh and his companions among the vagabonds reportedly set out from the Qaṭrabbul Gate and continued cursing the Turks until they passed Qaṭrabbul. Some Turks crossed over in skiffs, shooting arrows at them. They killed one of the vagabonds and wounded ten others. However, the vagabonds overwhelmed them with stones causing numerous casualties, so that the Turks retreated to their camp. Yantawayh was brought to the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir who ordered him not to go out except on a day of battle. The former was then presented a bracelet of honor, and Ibn Ṭāhir ordered that he be given five hundred dirhams.

On the fourteenth of Rabī' I, 251 (April 15, 865), Muzāḥim b. Khāqān came from the area of al-Raqqah and gave orders to the commanders, the Hāshimites and the heads of the government bureaus to meet him. About one thousand of his companions among the Khurāsānīs, the Turks and the Maghāribah accompanied him, bringing with them all sorts of instruments of war. He entered Baghdad with Waṣīf to his right and Bughā to his left. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir was to the left of Bughā, and Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq was behind them. The impression he himself made in public was one of dignity. Upon arriving, he was granted seven cloaks of honor and girded with a sword; each of his two sons was granted five cloaks of honor. It was ordered that he be given command of three thousand men including cavalry and infantry. Al-Mu'tazz sent Mūsā b. Ashnās along with Ḥātim b. Dāwūd b. Bajūr with a force of three [1589] thousand men including cavalry and infantry. Mūsā then set up camp opposite Abū Aḥmad on the West Side by the Qaṭrabbul Gate. This was on the first evening of Rabī' I (April 2, 865). One of the vagabonds, known as Daykawayh, went out riding on a donkey accompanied by his lieutenant on another donkey. They carried shields and weapons. Another bearing the patronymic Abū Ja'far, and known as al-Mukharramī, emerged from the East Side at the head of five hundred men carrying drawn weapons, shields, tar-covered mats, swords, knives in their belts, and clubs.

When the army arriving from Sāmarrā drew near to the West Side of Baghdad, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh rode out in full gear together with fourteen of his commanders. Also coming out (of the city) were

great numbers of the Mubayyiḍah and onlookers (*naẓẓārah*). He marched until he was opposite the camp of Abū Aḥmad. They fought one engagement across the water,[136] during which more than fifty men of Abū Aḥmad's force were killed. The Mubayyiḍah advanced until they passed more than half a *farsakh* (three km) beyond the army. At this, river boats (*shabbārah*)[137] from Abū Aḥmad's force crossed over to them. A skirmish between the two contingents took place, and several vessels were seized and secured,
[1590] together with their fighting men and sailors. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh then left giving orders to Ibn Abī ʿAwn to disperse the people. Ibn Abī ʿAwn thus sent someone who dispersed the masses of people and the onlookers. The latter addressed them crudely and cursed them, and they, in turn, cursed him. He then struck one of them killing him, whereupon the mob charged him and rendered him defenseless in their midst. Four river vessels from the flotilla of the Baghdadis had been left behind; so that when Ibn Abī ʿAwn left, fleeing the mob, Abū Aḥmad's troops saw them and sent their own vessels after them. They seized the vessels and burned one with a ballista in it belonging to the Baghdadis. The mob immediately set off to plunder the residence of Ibn Abī ʿAwn, saying, "He inclined towards the Turks, aided them and fled with his followers." They called upon Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh to dismiss him and began to hoot and holler; whereupon Muḥammad dispatched al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal with his followers, ordering him to disperse the mob and prevent them from taking any of Ibn Abī ʿAwn's belongings. Muḥammad also informed them that he had dismissed Ibn Abī ʿAwn from his naval command and all other military duties, and that he had transferred these responsibilities to his own brother, ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh. Muẓaffar then went out and dispersed the people from the residence of Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn.

On Thursday, the nineteenth of Rabīʿ I (April 20, 865), the Turkish army coming to Baghdad from Sāmarrā reached ʿUkbarā.[138] At this Ibn Ṭāhir sent out several of his commanders, including Bandār
[1591] al-Ṭabarī, his brother ʿUbaydallāh, Abū al-Sanā, Muzāḥim b.

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136. The text reads *fī al-maʾ*, "in the water."

137. *Shabbārāt* is rendered as *sufun*, that is "vessels," in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII,150. See also Kinderman, *Schiff*, 45–46.

138. That is, they travelled about half the distance between Sāmarrā and Baghdad. For ʿUkbarāʾ, see n. 90, above.

Khāqān, Asad b. Dāwūd Siyāh, and Khālid b. ʿImrān. They marched until they reached Qaṭrabbul where the Turks lay in ambush. The latter attacked and the two forces became engaged in combat. The Turks pushed them back against the two walls of Qaṭrabbul Road. Abū al-Sanā and Asad b. Dāwūd fought furiously, each killing several Turks and Maghāribah. Abū al-Sanā pressed forward, followed by (his) troops, and managed to kill one of the Turkish commanders—he was called Sūr. He severed his head and made straight for Ibn Ṭāhir's palace, where he informed the latter of his troops' defeat, and requested reinforcements. Ibn Ṭāhir gave orders that he be granted necklaces of honor. The weight of each necklace was thirty dīnārs and the weight of each bracelet was seven and a half *mithqāl*.[139] Abū al-Sanā went back to the troops with the reinforcements that he brought along from all the gates (of the city).

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh reportedly chastised Abū al-Sanā for deserting his position and bringing the head himself. He allegedly said to him, "You have abandoned the troops. May God shame this head and your bringing it." When Muḥammad b. ʿAbdūs (Abū al-Sanā) left (the field of battle), Asad b. Dāwūd fought on furiously; even after the troops had split off from him. He was subsequently killed. Some of the Baghdadis went back to the place where he had been, but this was after the Turks had taken his head. They repelled the Turks guarding his corpse and transported it to Baghdad in a skiff. The Turks reached Qaṭrabbul Gate, but the people went out and exerted great pressure against them, forcing them away from the gate. They then pursued the enemy until they broke them. That day, after the battle, the heads of those Turks and Maghāribah who were [1592]
killed were brought to the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir. He ordered that they be displayed at the Shammāsiyyah Gate, and this was done.

Following that, the Turks and the Maghāribah returned to attack the Baghdadis from the direction of Qaṭrabbul. A great number of Baghdadis and Turks were killed, as Bandār and his troops kept on fighting until evening. Then he took leave with the people, and the gates were locked. Ibn Ṭāhir now left orders for al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal, Rashīd b. Kāwūs and another commander. They went out at the head of five hundred cavalry, exiting from the Qaṭrabbul Gate in the direction of Ibn Ashnās's camp. They came up against an enemy

139. That is, about 34 grams. See Hinz, *Masse*, 1–8.

(force) which was unprepared and offguard, and they killed about three hundred of them, captured several, and then withdrew.

On this day, the Turks and the Maghāribah reportedly reached the Gate of the Fief (*qaṭīʿah*)[140] and breached the wall near the bath-house (*ḥammām*) known as Ḥammām Bāb al-Qaṭīʿah. The first of them to come through the breech was killed. The number of dead among the Turks and the Maghāribah this day was higher than among the defenders, but many among the Baghdadis were wounded by arrows.

I heard some say that a young man who had not yet reached puberty took part in this battle. He had a nosebag filled with stones and a slingshot in his hand. He would cast (the stones) never missing the faces of the Turks and their animals. Four Turkish horsemen who were bowmen began to shoot at him but they always missed. He would shoot back and hit them, and their mounts would then throw them. The Turks kept at it, until, assisted by four Maghribī horsemen carrying lances and shields, they charged at him. Two of
[1593] them came upon him, but he threw himself in the water. They jumped in after the boy, but could not catch up with him. He crossed to the East Side and taunted them. The troops proclaimed "God is Great!" and returned without ever catching him.

On this day ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh reportedly summoned the commanding officers—there were five of them—and ordered each of them to a district. The people then marched off to war while he left for the gate. He told ʿAbdallāh b. Jahm who was in charge of Qaṭrabbul Gate, "Do not let any of them come back through the gate in retreat." When the battle was engaged, the people scattered and the rout was on. Asad b. Dāwūd stood fast until he was killed. He had killed three with his own hands when a silver (*gharab*) arrow struck his throat. He was retreating when another arrow hit the back of his mount; it bolted and threw him. No one stood with him except his son, who himself was wounded. The closing of the gates in the face of the retreating men was harder on them than the enemy. Seventy prisoners and three hundred Baghdadi heads were reportedly taken to Sāmarrā.

It was reported that when the prisoners drew close to Sāmarrā, the (officer) accompanying them was given orders not to let them enter

140. That is, the Fief of Umm Jaʿfar. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 113.

the city until their faces were covered. When the populace of Sāmarrā saw them emotions ran high, and they joined their womenfolk in crying aloud and in prayer. News of this reached al-Muʿtazz and he feared the hardening of the hearts of those around him. He thus ordered that each prisoner be given two dīnārs on condition [1594] that they abandon their belligerency. He also ordered that the heads be buried, and it was done. Among the prisoners was a son of Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah, a brother of Qusṭanṭīnah, the slave girl of Umm Ḥabīb, and five of the notables of Baghdad who were among the onlookers. As for the son of Muḥammad b. Naṣr, he was reportedly killed and then hung aloft opposite the Shammāsiyyah Gate where his father's position was.

On Thursday, the twenty-sixth of Rabīʿ I (April 27, 865), Abū al-Sāj advanced by way of the Mecca Road accompanied by seven hundred horsemen and eighteen litters containing thirty-six shackled bedouin prisoners. He and his men then entered Baghdad, smartly attired and with their weapons in full view. He marched until reaching the palace (of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh) where he was given five cloaks of honor and was girded with a sword. He then departed for his residence along with his companions. Four of his men had also been given cloaks of honor.

It was said that on Monday, the last day of Rabīʿ I (May 1, 865), a group of Turks came up to the Shammāsiyyah Gate bearing a message from al-Muʿtazz to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, and requested that they be allowed to deliver it. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl refused to receive it until he consulted (someone); the order to receive it was subsequently given. Three horsemen then came on Friday and were met by a man armed with a sword and shield, who had been sent to them by al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl. He removed the letter from a pouch, and it was taken away and delivered to Muḥammad. It contained a reminder to Muḥammad of the duties encumbent upon him stemming from his previous and unbreakable agreement with al-Muʿtazz. It was his duty to be the first of those who support al- [1595] Muʿtazz in his endeavor and set his caliphate on the right course. That letter was said to have been the first to reach him from al-Muʿtazz after the conflict (had begun).

On Saturday, the fifth of Rabīʿ II (May 6, 865), Ḥabshūn b. Bughā the Elder came to Baghdad accompanied by Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb Qūṣarrah, the mawlā of al-Hādī, and those Shākiriyyah who were

with Mūsā b. Bughā. Most of the Shākiriyyah stationed in al-Raqqah—there were some thirteen hundred men—joined them. He was given five cloaks of honor while Yūsuf was given four. Cloaks of honor were also bestowed on some twenty notables among the Shākiriyyah. Following this, they all departed for their residences.

A man came to Baghdad and reported that the Turks, Maghāribah and their retinue on the West Side numbered twelve thousand men; they were headed by Bayakbāk, the commander. The troops with Abū Aḥmad on the East Side numbered seven thousand; al-Durghumān al-Farghānī was Abū Aḥmad's lieutenant. He also reported that there remained but six commanders of the Turks and the Maghāribah in Sāmarrā. They were in charge of guarding the gates.

The two parties engaged in battle on Wednesday, the seventh of Rabī' II (May 8, 865). On that day, al-Mu'tazz reportedly lost four hundred men, including those who drowned. Ibn Ṭāhir lost three
[1596] hundred killed and drowned; the count included only troopers, for on that day none of the rabble came out. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ḥarbi[141] was killed; this had been a hard day for both parties.

It was also reported that Muzāḥim b. Khāqān was struck by an arrow, shot by Mūsā b. Ashnās, and left (the field) wounded. About twenty Turkish and Maghribī commanders were found missing from the army of Abū Aḥmad.

On Thursday, the fifteenth of Rabī' II (May 16, 865), five cloaks of honor were given to Abū al-Sāj, four to Ibn Farāshah, and three to Yaḥyā b. Ḥafṣ (who was known as) Ḥabūs.[142] The camp of Abū al-Sāj was then at Sūq al-Thalāthā'.[143] The regular army was given mules from the stock held by the central authorities; they were to be used as transport for the infantry. Muzāḥim b. Khāqān was transferred from the Ḥarb Gate[144] to the Salāmah Gate and Khālid b. 'Imrān al-Ṭā'ī al-Mawṣilī was appointed in his stead.

It was also reported that when Ibn Ṭāhir ordered Abū al-Sāj to come to him, the latter was supposed to have said, "O Prince, I have

141. Reading is uncertain.

142. The text is Jabūs; it should be read Ḥabūs. See the Leiden edition of Ṭabarī, index, 632.

143. That is, in the southeast section of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 68, and Lassner, *Topography*, 264, n. 25.

144. That is, in the northeast section of Baghdad, in the Ḥarbiyyah quarter. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 112, and map facing p. 107, n. 11.

advice to give." He was told, "Go ahead, Abū Ja'far, you are above suspicion," and he said, "If you want to get the most out of those people, you are advised not to take leave of your commanders and not to scatter them but, rather, to hold them together until you break this army stationed across the way. For once you finish with them, you will have full mastery of your own forces." Ibn Ṭāhir responded, "I have my battle plan; if God wills it, He will see to it that it is [successful]." Abū al-Sāj then said, "I am at your command," and departed to execute his orders. [1597]

It was reported that al-Mu'tazz wrote to Abū Aḥmad blaming him for his tarrying in fighting the Baghdadis whereupon the latter responded:

Death's command has its way with us
sometimes it can be borne with ease, sometimes it is hard.

Our recorded battle days are examples for people,
some of them are firsts of their kind, some are not.

Some are hard enough to turn the infant's hair white,
and some see friends betraying one another.

A wide wall so high
that eyes cannot see its top, and a deep trench;

The devastating battle, the drawn sword,
the terrible fear, and the strong fortress.

The early morning calls, "To arms!
to arms!" but no one wakes.

Here's a dead body, here's a wounded one;
here's a burnt person, and here's a drowned one.

This one has been killed, this one has been knocked down,
another one has been bashed with a mangonel.

There, one finds cruelty, and over there looting
ruined palaces which had been pleasing.

Everytime we climb a new path
we find the way blocked.

[1598] Only with God's help shall we attain what we desire,
and only with God's help shall we resist the hardships.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh responded, or (the following) may have been said on his behalf:

Isn't it true that anyone who goes astray
and digresses from the guided path,

Will find what you have described?
and how befitting is such an end to such a person!

It is especially true of the one who violates his allegiance;
for exacting it from him is a confirmed pledge.

The guided path will be closed to his face,
and he will meet unbearable hardships.

He will never attain what he desires,
nor will the one who does not repent his transgressions.

This we know just like a proverb,
received from one generation to another.

Our witness is this [Holy] Book
which has been confirmed by the true Prophet.

As for the first poem, it was recited by ʿAlī b. Umayyah during the civil war between the deposed (al-Amīn) and al-Maʾmūn. The response is anonymous.

In Rabīʿ II, 251 (May 2–30, 865), two hundred cavalry and infantry were reportedly sent by al-Muʿtazz to the district of Bandanījayn[145] under the command of a Turk called Ablaj. They made for al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī and looted his residence while attacking his village. Follow-

145. That is, the northeast section of Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 499, and Le Strange, *Lands*, 63, 80.

ing this, they proceeded to a nearby village, where they ate and drank. When they felt secure, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī cried out for help against them, (addressing his call to) some Kurds from among his maternal uncles and people from the villages surrounding him. [1599]
They fell upon the Turks, catching them unawares. They killed most of them, and took seventeen men as prisoners. Ablaj was killed, and the rest of them fled at night. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī now sent the prisoners, the head of Ablaj, and the heads of those who were killed with him, to Baghdad. This al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī was from the (tribe of) Shaybān. He reportedly served as Yaḥya b. Ḥafṣ's deputy when the latter was a public official. His mother was Kurdish.

Al-Madā' in During This Civil War

It was reported that when Abū al-Sāj, Ismāʿīl b. Farāshah and Yaḥyā b. Ḥafṣ were given cloaks of honor in order to proceed to al-Madāʾin; they set up camp at Sūq al-Thalāthā'. On Sunday, the twentieth of Rabīʿ I (April 21, 865), Abū al-Sāj[146] let his infantry ride the mules, and he set off towards al-Madā'in, which had been the trench of the Sassanian Emperor.[147] He wrote asking for reinforcements, and five hundred infantry of the regular army were sent to him. He himself had set out at the head of three thousand horsemen and infantry. Then Abū al-Sāj asked for further reinforcements, and they were given to him; so his army reached three thousand men of the old Shākiriyyah who were transported in vessels that set sail for him on Sunday, the fourth of Jumādā I[148] (June 3, 865).

Al-Anbār[149] and the Civil War There

Among these events, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh sent Najūbah b. Qays at the head of a bedouin force to al-Anbār, and ordered him to estab-

146. The text does not specify his name, but he is obviously intended by the context.

147. For Madā'in, and its importance under the Sassanians, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 74–75.

148. The text has Jumādā II, which would not be a Sunday. The fourth of Jumādā I, however, was a Sunday, and the text should be emended as in the translation.

149. That is, on the Euphrates, northwest of Baghdad, at some ten *farsakhs* (sixty km) away. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 257.

lish a position there and to enlist recruits among the bedouins of that district. He managed to enlist some two thousand men from
[1600] among them and those like them, and he established himself at al-Anbār, thus securing the city. Word then reached him that a contingent of Turks was making its way towards him. At this, he opened the floodgates of the Euphrates, emptying its waters into the trench of al-Anbār. When the trench was filled, it overflowed (and flooded) the surrounding steppes, with the water reaching as far as al-Saylaḥayn.[150] The area surrounding al-Anbār thus became one continuous swamp. He also demolished the masonry bridges (*qanṭarah*) leading to the city, and he wrote asking for reinforcements. Rashīd b. Kāwūs, the brother of al-Afshīn, was selected to go to him, and the latter gathered those of his troops who were with him—they numbered one thousand men: five hundred cavalry and five hundred infantry. He went forth and set up camp by Qaṣr ʿAbdawayh.[151] Ibn Ṭāhir reinforced him with three hundred infantry from the Malaṭiyah[152] contingent which was coming from the frontier region. They were selected, given what was due them, and assigned to him on Tuesday. By Monday, the last day of Rabīʿ I [153] (May 1, 865), Rashīd departed from Qaṣr ʿAbdawayh at the head of fifteen hundred men.

On Tuesday, al-Muʿtazz dispatched Abū Naṣr b. Bughā from Sāmarrā along the Isḥāqī Road. After marching a day and a night, he came up to al-Anbār in the morning. At the same time Rashīd b. Kāwūs set up camp there. Najūbah had positioned himself inside the city while Rashīd was camped outside of it. When Abū Naṣr ar-
[1601] rived, he took Rashīd and his men unawares; they had not taken up their battle stations yet. Abū Naṣr's men put them to the sword and

150. The text is al-Ṣāliḥīn; it should be read al-Saylaḥayn, as in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 298–299. This district, according to Yāqūt, is only some three *farsakhs* (eighteen km) from Baghdad; hence the flooded land must have covered some forty km down from Al-Anbār.

151. See Lassner, *Topography*, 70. The camp was still in the Baghdad area.

152. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 120, 121, 128, 136, 142.

153. There is a mistake in the text at this point. The last day of Rabīʿ II was not a Monday but, rather, a Wednesday. The confusion may have occurred because the daily cycle begins in the evening rather than at midnight or midday. In any case, Tuesday is the correct reading, being consistent with the rest of the text as well as with the end of Rabīʿ I, which was, indeed, a Tuesday.

showered them with arrows, killing a number of them. Some of Rashīd's troops took up their arms and fought furiously with the Turks and the Maghāribah, killing several of them. Rashīd and the Shākiriyyah then fled back to Baghdad along the road they had taken before. When Najūbah learned what had befallen Rashīd's men, and that the Turks intended to attack al-Anbār following the former's retreat, he crossed over with a group of his men to the west bank and cut the pontoon bridge of al-Anbār (behind him). That night, Rashīd went to al-Muḥawwal,[154] while Najūbah moved along the west bank (of the Ṣarāt) until he reached Baghdad on Thursday evening. Later that evening, Rashīd entered the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir. Najūbah told Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh that when the Turks were marching to al-Anbār, he sent word to Rashīd asking him for a hundred archers so that he could array them in front of his army, but the latter refused. Najūbah now asked Ibn Ṭāhir to assign to his command archers drawn from the cavalry and the infantry so that he could march with them to his kinsmen. Najūbah mentioned that they were stationed here on the West Side, obediently awaiting the Commander of the Faithful. After giving guarantees that he would execute what was expected of him,[155] Najūbah was given the command of three hundred archers from the cavalry of the Shākiriyyah and from their [1602]
infantry. After being given five cloaks of honor, he marched to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah to make ready there.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh then selected al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl to go to al-Anbār and sent along with him Muḥammad b. Rajāʾ al-Ḥiḍārī, ʿAbdallāh b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah, Rashīd b. Kāwūs, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā and a group of others. He also ordered that money be given to anyone leaving with al-Husayn and this company. The Shākiriyyah, who came from Malaṭiyah, and who represented the main group[156] accepting four months military allotment, refused, for most of them did not have a mount. They said, "We need to replenish ourselves and buy mounts." Four thousand dīnārs had been offered them, but they were satisfied with four months pay. Al-Ḥusayn held an audi-

154. That is, on the ʿĪsā Canal, about one *farsakh* (six km) northwest of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 31, 32, 66, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 425.

155. This seems to be the sense of the uncertain text, *ḍamana an yatalāqā mā kāna minhu*.

156. The text is *man*, "who"; it should be read *mimman*, "of those," as in Ms. O.

ence at the door of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's palace and began to check the lists (*jarāʾid*) of recruits[157] in order to review the troops[158] with his companions in Madīnat Abū Jaʿfar.[159] On that day, he paid a contingent of his special forces. Following that, al-Ḥusayn and the clerks of the dīwāns went to Madīnat Abī Jaʿfar and offered service pay to those regular troops who would move out with him. They were to be paid at three sessions; the payments were completed on Saturday, the eighteenth of Jumādā I (June 17, 865).

On Monday, al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl was brought to the palace (of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh). With him were the commanders who were leaving with him, namely: Rashīd b. Kāwūs, Muḥammad b. [1603] Rajāʾ, ʿAbdallāh b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah, Irmīs (?) al-Farghānī, Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, the brother of Ḥuzām, Yūsuf b. Manṣūr b. Yūsuf al-Barm, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī, al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, and Muḥammad b. Harthamah b. al-Naḍir. Al-Ḥusayn was given cloaks of honor and was promoted from the fourth battalion (*fawj*) to the second. These commanders were also given cloaks of honor; Rashīd b. Kāwūs was put in charge of the vanguard, and Muḥammad b. Rajāʾ was given the train. Al-Ḥusayn, those of his kinsmen (*ʿashīrah*) who were attached to him, and his generals marched to their camp, following Waṣīf and Bughā (who) had been ordered (to depart) ahead of him. He was escorted to al-Yāsiriyyah[160] by ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh and all of Ibn Ṭāhir's commanders, (his) secretaries, the Banū Hāshim, and the notables. The army families were given thirty-six thousand dīnārs. Eighteen hundred dīnārs were taken to the encampment at al-Yāsiriyyah to be distributed to the remaining fighting men in order to pay off what was due them.

On Thursday al-Ḥusayn's vanguard, commanded by ʿAbdallāh b. Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb and comprising one thousand cavalry and infantry, marched until they reached the dam (*bathq*) known as Bathq al-Qāṭūfah, where they encamped.

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157. *Jarāʾid* could also mean a company of horsemen without footmen among them. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 407, col. 1; but it is hard to read that meaning with *taṣḥīḥ*, that is, "to correct," "to check." In this context it should be understood as military rolls.

158. The Text is *al-nās*, "people."

159. The reference is to the Round City. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 15–46.

160. That is, some two miles northwest of Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 425, and n. 154 above.

The Turks had already sent to al-Manṣūriyyah,[161] five *farsakhs* [1604]
(thirty km) from Baghdad, a contingent consisting of their men, some Maghāribah, and the rabble. The group numbered around one hundred men. Seven of the Maghāribah were taken (prisoner), and then brought to al-Ḥusayn who had them taken to the Gate (in Baghdad). Al-Ḥusayn himself set forth on Friday, the twenty-third of Jumādā I (June 22, 865). The populace of al-Anbār had asked for guarantees of safe conduct when the Turks and Maghāribah arrived at the city after Najūbah and Rashīd had retreated. It was granted to them. They were ordered to open their shops, conduct business in them, and go about their affairs as usual. As a result, the Anbārīs felt secure and trusted that the garrison would not harm them. They remained so for a day and a night. But the next morning, while the garrison was (still) in control of the city, vessels sailing from al-Raqqah arrived containing flour, and rafts bearing oil and other items also arrived. The garrison seized the shipments and everything they found including camels, pack animals, mules and donkeys. They sent them off with someone who would deliver them to their residences in Sāmarrā. They looted whatever they could find, and sent along the heads of those who were killed from among the men of Rashīd, Najūbah, and the Baghdadis, together with those that were
taken prisoner. The prisoners numbered 120 men; there were sev- [1605]
enty heads. The prisoners were carried in sacks with their heads sticking out until they reached Sāmarrā. Later the Turks went up to the mouth of the river at al-Asnānah[162] and attempted to block it, thereby preventing the waters of the Euphrates from reaching Baghdad. After paying a man some money, they sent him to get (hold of) the lock mechanism and to lock it with ropes and yardarms. But he was discovered as he was buying (the equipment). The mob beat him and cursed him until he lay near death, and then he was taken to the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir. When he was asked about the matter, he confessed the truth and was sent to prison.

Ibn Ṭāhir had already sent al-Ḥārith, Abū al-Sāj's lieutenant—he

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161. This town name is mentioned several times by Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII, 599, 620, 622, IX, 251, 569, X, 16, 50, but all references are to North Africa. The Iraqi counterpart is hard to determine.

162. We should probably read Astān to mean a "district." See Le Strange, *Lands*, 79–80. Apparently they wanted to block the traffic along one of the major arteries that connected the Euphrates to Baghdad.

had been travelling along the Mecca Road—to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. He attached to al-Ḥārith's command five hundred Shākiriyyah cavalry who were to advance with him. Al-Ḥārith departed with his companions on the seventh of Jumādā I (June 6, 865). Ibn Ṭāhir also sent Ibn Abī Dulaf Hāshim b. al-Qāsim at the head of two hundred infantry and cavalry to al-Sībān[163] in order to establish a position there. When al-Ḥusayn set out for al-Anbār, written orders were sent to Hāshim to join al-Ḥasayn's army and accompany it to the city. In Baghdad, the call went out to the troops of al-Ḥusayn and Muzāḥim b. Khāqān to join their commanders, after which al-Ḥusayn set out. Khālid b. ʿImrān also advanced, setting up camp in
[1606] Dimimmā.[164] There, he wanted to build a pontoon bridge across the Aniq[165] canal so that his troops might cross the waterway, but the Turks resisted him. A contingent of infantry crossed over to encounter the enemy and dispersed them, whereupon Khālid completed the bridge and crossed over with his company. Meanwhile, al-Ḥusayn marched to Dimimmā and camped outside the village. After having spent one day in his camp, the vanguard of the Turkish army reached him in the area along the Aniq and the Rufayl above the village of Dimimmā. Al-Ḥusayn then ranged his troops along one side of the river while the Turks, numbering around one thousand men, were on the other side. They showered each other with arrows and a number of troops were wounded. The Turks then departed for al-Anbār, while Najūbah was still positioned at Qaṣr b. Hubayrah.

Joining al-Ḥusayn at this point were all the bedouins in Najūbah's force and others. Najūbah wrote asking for money to pay to his troops, and orders were given that three thousand dīnārs be taken to al-Ḥusayn's camp and paid out to Najūbah's men. As for al-Ḥusayn, he was given money, necklaces, bracelets and gifts to be distributed to those who fought with valor. Moreover, al-Ḥusayn was promised further reinforcements to bring his army up to ten thousand men. Orders were subsequently dispatched that that promise be met. Moreover, it was ordered that Abū al-Sanā Muḥammad b. ʿAbdūs al-Ghanawī and al-Jaḥḥāf b. Sawād be sent at the head of a thousand in-

163. The locale is uncertain. Any two water courses (*sīb*) could be called thus. See, however, Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 293, who locates it near Qaṣr Hubayrah.
164. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 66.
165. The reading is uncertain. Also rendered as Abiq.

fantry and cavalry from among the Malaṭiyah (troops) and a force selected from various commands. These men received their rations on [1607] the second day before the end of Jumādā I (June 28, 865),[166] and then marched with Abū al-Sanā and al-Jaḥḥāf along the Karkhāyā[167] Canal to al-Muḥawwal,[168] and then to Dimimmā.

Al-Ḥusayn encamped with his army in an open expanse that was sufficient for his force; it was known as al-Qaṭīʿah. He stayed there for one day and then intended to leave for an area adjacent to al-Anbār. But Rashīd and the commanders advised him to keep the camp in that place because it had ample space and was fortifiable. He could then proceed together with his commanders and part of a cavalry squadron to find out if the conditions (there) would be in his favor. If so, he could then transfer the camp; if not, he could withdraw to the camp and counterattack his enemy. He did not accept the idea and ordered his men to move out from their positions. They did this, moving to a new place some two *farsakhs* (twelve km) away. When they reached the place where al-Ḥusayn wanted to set up camp, he gave orders for people to dismount.

The Turks had spies in al-Ḥusayn's camp, and they went and informed them of the latter's journey and how the loyalist army found their (new) encampment crowded. The Turks charged al-Ḥusayn's force while people were still unloading their baggage. The army was stirred to action, and the call went out, "To arms!" They arrayed their troops and fought back as both parties suffered casualties. Al-Ḥusayn's troops then attacked the Turks, inflicting an ignominious defeat on the latter, slaughtering a great number of them while many others drowned in the Euphrates. The Turks, however, had also positioned a party of ambushers. With the battle joined, they emerged, attacking the rest of the loyalist camp. The latter found no refuge except the Euphrates. Many of al-Ḥusayn's men were thus drowned, a number were killed, and some of the infantry were taken [1608] prisoner. As for the cavalry, they beat a hasty retreat on their mounts, paying attention to nothing else. None responded to the

166. The text does not specify which Jumādā. But since the events seem to lead into Jumādā II, we assume here that it was Jumādā I.

167. The Karkhāyā Canal was on the West Side of Baghdad, and still within the city area. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 52–56.

168. The distance to Muḥawwal is some six kilometers northwest of Baghdad. See n. 154, above.

commanders who pleaded and called upon them to return. Muḥammad b. Rajā' and Rashīd, however, fought valiantly that day. Those who retreated withdrew all the way to the Yāsiriyyah Gate of Baghdad. When the commanders could not control their men any longer they, too, retreated behind them, protecting their rear lest they be followed. As a result, the Turks appropriated all of al-Ḥusayn's camp, including the tents, the household possessions of the troops and the wares of the merchants. Al-Ḥusayn also had with him weapons that had been stored aboard vessels. These were safe, however, for the sailors guarded their vessels, thus saving the weapons and the merchant's wares they were carrying.

Ibn Zanbūr, the secretary of al-Ḥusayn (reported the following). Seized from al-Ḥusayn were twelve chests containing garments, eight thousand dīnārs belonging to the central authorities, about four thousand dīnārs of his own, and a hundred mules. Al-Ḥusayn's (own) recruits looted his tents and those of his troops and then fled, arriving at al-Yāsiriyyah. Most of the looting, however, had taken place among the men of Abū al-Sanā. As for al-Ḥusayn, he and those who fled arrived at al-Yāsiriyyah on Tuesday, the sixth of Jumādā II[169] (July 5, 865). One of the merchants, from among those who had lost their possessions in al-Ḥusayn's camp, met him along with
[1609] a group of them and said, "Praise the God Who cheers you. It took you twelve days to get where you wanted, but only one to retreat all the way back." Al-Ḥusayn paid no attention to him, however.

(According to) Abū Jaʿfar, what follows is drawn from the reports that reached us about al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl and his commanders and troops, who were dispatched in this year by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. They were dispatched from Baghdad to fight the Turks and the Maghāribah who had come to al-Anbār and the adjacent district. When al-Ḥusayn reached al-Yāsiriyyah, after having retreated from Dimimmā in defeat, he stayed at Bustān Ibn al-Ḥarūrī. The others who came back in defeat stayed on the western side of al-Yāsiriyyah and were not allowed to cross over. It was announced in Baghdad that those troops of al-Ḥusayn's army (who were) currently in the city were to join his camp (at al-Yāsiriyyah). They were given three days to do so; anyone found in Baghdad after three days would

169. The sixth of Jumādā II was not a Tuesday but, rather, a Thursday. Better read Jumādā I, which would then be June 5, 865.

be administered three hundred lashes and his name would be erased from the military roll. At this, the people left. On the same night in which al-Ḥusayn arrived, Khālid b. ʿImrān was given orders to encamp with his men at al-Muḥawwal. That night he gave his men their allotments while they sat mounted. It was also announced among Khālid's men, who were then in al-Muḥawwal, to join him there. Similarly, the old recruits, who were conscripted by Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar in al-Kūfah—they amounted to some five hundred men—were called into service together with Khālid's troops, about one thousand men. They encamped at al-Muḥawwal [1610]
on Tuesday, the fourth of Jumādā II (July 3, 865).[170]

The morning following the night of al-Ḥusayn's arrival, Ibn Ṭāhir gave orders to al-Shāh b. Mīkāl to meet al-Ḥusayn and refuse him entry to Baghdad. He met him en route (to the city) and sent him back to Bustān Ibn al-Ḥarūrī, where they (al-Ḥusayn and his retinue) stayed that day. When night fell they came to the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir. The latter chastized al-Ḥusayn and ordered him to go back to al-Yāsiriyyah and then march to al-Anbār together with any soldiers who would do so. That same night, al-Ḥusayn returned to al-Yāsiriyyah and ordered that one month's salary be given to the families of this army. Nine thousand dīnārs were brought, and the clerks handling the payroll and the muster roll came to al-Yāsiriyyah to muster the troops and hand them their pay.

When Friday, the seventh of Jumādā II (July 6, 865), came around, Khālid b. ʿImrān went up to the masonry bridge of Bihlāyā, which is the site of the dam (*sikr*). At the same time, some twenty vessels set sail and ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh, Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl, and al-Ḥusayn b. Makhlad rode off to the camp of al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl in al-Yāsiriyyah. There, they read to al-Ḥusayn and the commanders a letter written by al-Mustaʿīn. In it, al-Mustaʿīn informed them of their offensive disobedience, their mutiny and their dissent. It was read to them while the army stood by and the muster officers were lining them up to find out who had been killed and who had drowned from each command. After that, they were called to join [1611]
their units. Marching out, they received a dispatch from some of their informants at al-Anbār that the Turks suffered more than two hundred dead, and around four hundred wounded. All the prisoners

170. The text reads Jumādā, but it should be emended to read "fourth of Jumādā II".

that the Turks took from the Baghdadis, including regular troops and infantry recruits were 220 persons. The heads of the (loyalist) dead were counted and found to be seventy heads. They had taken along some of the market people who cried out to Abū Naṣr, "We are the people of the market." He asked, "And why was it that you were with them?" To which they answered, "We were compelled, and thus we went along to ply our trade or. . . ."[171] Those of them who looked like market people were set free, while the prisoners were jailed at al-Qaṭīʿah. The officer in charge of the government mules was reported to have said that all the government mules that were lost amounted to 120 animals.

Al-Ḥusayn departed on Monday, the seventeenth of Jumādā II (July 16, 865), and wrote to Khālid b. ʿImrān, who was positioned at the dam, to march before him. But Khālid refused to do so and indicated that he would not leave his position until an officer with a huge army replaced him, for he feared that the Turks operating from their camp in the region of Qaṭrabbul might come up behind his army. Ibn Ṭāhir ordered that money be sent to al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl to pay each of his troops one month's salary. The money was to be distributed at Dimimmā. He also ordered that clerks and muster of-
[1612] ficers accompany the shipment sent there. Al-Faḍl b. Muẓaffar al-Sabaʿī was in charge of military expenditures and also the payroll, which was to draw upon the bureau of taxation for funding. The money was brought by al-Sabaʿī to al-Ḥusayn's camp so that the former could march along with him when he moved on.

It was said that al-Ḥusayn departed for al-Anbār at midnight on Wednesday, the nineteenth of Jumādā II (July 18, 865). The call went out for his men to join up with him, and his army followed him during the day on Wednesday.[172] Al-Ḥusayn marched until reaching Dimimmā where he wanted to build a pontoon bridge over the Aniq Canal[173] to cross the waterway, but the Turks resisted him. A contingent of his infantry crossed over and fought the Turks until they

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171. The exact meaning of *sūqī* and *sawaqah* is uncertain. Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 1472, col. 2, argues that it means subjects of a king, because he drives them. But here it seems to mean people who make their livelihood by roaming around in the *sūq* with whatever commodity they are selling.

172. The Muslim day begins at night fall. See Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 5. So midnight of Wednesday is midnight Tuesday of the civil day.

173. This story, almost verbatim, was attributed to Khālid b. ʿImrān, p. 1606 of the Leiden edition. Ṭabarī seems to be confusing both events.

dispersed them, whereupon Khālid[174] built the bridge allowing his men to cross the waterway. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh then sent him a message of congratulations with his secretary Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, who was said to have brought along necklaces and bracelets. Muḥammad then returned to his residence. On Saturday, the eighth of Rajab (August 5, 865),[175] a man came to al-Ḥusayn and told him that the Turks had been guided to several spots on the Euphrates which could be forded in an effort to reach his camp. He ordered that the informant be given two hundred lashes, and ordered one of his officers called al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī together with one hundred infantry and one hundred cavalry to guard the crossing points. When the Turkish vanguard appeared, carrying fourteen banners, he charged them, and his men engaged them for an hour. He [1613]
charged Abū al-Sanā with guarding the bridge (*qanṭarah*)[176] and instructed him to prohibit anyone fleeing from crossing it. When the Turks came up to the crossing and found it guarded, they left and moved on to another one behind it. But they were fought by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī who persevered in battle. When al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl was informed of that, he marched in that direction, but he did not reach Ibn ʿAlī before the latter was routed together with Khālid b. ʿImrān, and their men. At the bridge Abū al-Sanā would not let them cross, and the infantry and Khurāsānīs turned back throwing themselves into the Euphrates. Those who could not swim drowned; but those who could swim escaped, crossing without their clothes, to an island from which one could not reach the shore because there were Turks along the shore.

Some of al-Ḥusayn's troops (reported that) when al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Armanī sent word to al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl informing him that the Turks had reached the crossing, the messenger was told, "The commander is asleep." So he returned and reported that. Then a second messenger was sent, but he was told by the guard, "The commander is at the privy." And he went back and reported that. A third messenger reported back, "He came out of the privy but he went back to

174. The text has Khālid where it should read al-Ḥusayn. Note, this is the same account as the one given on p. 1606 of the Leiden edition.

175. Saturday was the seventh of Rajab, 251. One should read either Sunday or the seventh of Rajab.

176. The reference here seem to be to a masonry bridge (*qanṭarah*) and not to a pontoon bridge (*jisr*). See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 424, col. 3.

sleep." When morning came and the Turks attacked, al-Ḥusayn sat himself in a skiff (*zawraq*) or river vessel and sailed downstream. A group of Khurāsānīs were taken prisoner; they cast aside their clothes and weapons and sat naked on the shore. Those who bore the Turkish banners pressed on until they hoisted their flags at al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl's tent and cut off the marketplace. Most of the
[1614] vessels sailed downstream and were safe except for those that were put under guard.[177] The Turks pursued al-Ḥusayn's followers and put them to the sword. They killed or captured some two hundred men, while a great number drowned. Al-Ḥusayn together with the defeated army reached Baghdad by midnight. The rest of those fleeing arrived during the day; among them were several wounded. They kept on arriving, naked and wounded, until midday. Among the lost commanders of al-Ḥusayn was Ibn Yūsuf al-Barm. But a letter came later reporting that he was being held prisoner by the Turks at the camp of Mufliḥ, and that the number of prisoners from al-Ḥusayn's second battle exceeded 170 men. There were a hundred dead, and two thousand pack animals and two hundred mules were lost. The value of the clothes, and weapons and other things lost was more than one hundred thousand dinārs. Al-Hindawānī recited in reference to al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl:

O You, most firm in staying behind
From battle. You've mixed serenity with sorrow.

When you saw the drawn swords of the Turks,
you knew what destinies these swords were bringing.

You stayed secluded in shame and disgrace,
success is always lost between impotence and distress.

In Jumādā II, 251 (June 30–July 28, 865), a group of people from Baghdad joined al-Muʿtazz, including some of the secretaries and members of the Banū Hāshim. Joining al-Muʿtazz from among the
[1615] generals was Muzāḥim b. Khāqān Urṭūj, and from among the secretaries were ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Nūḥ, Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq, Namārī, Yaʿqūb b. Ṣāliḥ b. Murshid, Muqlah, and a son of Abū Muzāḥim b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān. The Hashimites included ʿAlī and Muḥammad the sons of

177. That is, they were told not to move.

al-Wāthiq, Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, one of the sons of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī.

In this year, there was a battle in which Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Yazīd and Aḥmad al-Muwallad faced Ayyūb b. Aḥmad at Sukayr[178] in the territory of Banū Taghlib. A great number of men from the two factions were killed. Muḥammad b. Khālid fled, leaving his possessions to be looted by the others. Ayyūb destroyed the dwellings of the family of Hārūn b. Maʿmar and killed every man of theirs that he captured.

In (this year), Balkājūr conducted a raid of conquest which reportedly uncovered a cache containing a great deal of booty. He captured a number of the heathen soldiers (*aʿlāj*), and the news was brought to al-Mustaʿīn through a letter dated Wednesday, the twenty-sixth of Rabīʿ II, 251 (May 27, 865).[179]

On Saturday, the twenty-second of Rajab, 251 (August 19, 865), a battle took place in which Muḥammad b. Rajā' and Ismāʿīl b. Farāshah faced Juʿlān al-Turkī. The battle occurred in the districts of Bādurāyā and Bākusāyā.[180] Ibn Rajā' and Ibn Farāshah defeated Juʿlān and killed or captured several of his men.

In Rajab, 251 (July 29–August 27, 865), a battle reportedly took [1616] place between Dīwdād Abū al-Sāj and Bāyakbāk in the district of Jarjarāyā.[181] In this battle Abū al-Sāj killed Bāyakbāk together with a number of his men and captured some others. Still others drowned in the Nahrawān.

In the middle of Rajab, 251 (August 12, 865), the ʿAbbāsids of the Banū Hāshim, who were in Baghdad, gathered together and went to the island opposite the palace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. They called for al-Mustaʿīn and cursed Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, using ugly words. They also said, "We have been denied our stipends, while you pay money to others to whom it is not due. We shall die shrunken from starvation. Unless you pay our due we will go to the

178. That is, in the Jazīrah area, near the Byzantine borders. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 97–98, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 231, II, 334–335.

179. That day was not Wednesday but, rather, Sunday. Was it possibly the third day of Rabīʿ I, which was indeed a Wednesday, and hence April 4, 865 ?

180. These districts are to the northeast of Baghdad. See n. 145, above, and Le Strange, *Lands*, 63.

181. That is southeast of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 37. Note these military activities are conducted without involving the ruling family, a sign of their lack of control.

gates and open them to the Turks, and no one in Baghdad would oppose us." Al-Shāh b. Mīkāl crossed over and spoke gently with them. He asked that three of them accompany him to the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir. They rejected that and refused to do anything except cry out against and curse Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. Al-Shāh took leave of them, and they persisted in this behavior until night approached. Then they departed, but they gathered again the very next day. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh sent orders to them to appear at his palace on Monday so that he could appoint someone to look into their claims (*yunāẓiruhum*). When they came to the palace, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Ṭūsī was ordered to negotiate with them. He gave them one month's payment with an order to accept it and not bother the Caliph anymore. They, on the other hand, refused to accept one month's payment and left.

[1617] In this year a Ṭālibid called al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib rebelled in al-Kūfah. He sought the caliphate for one of the Ṭālibids, a man called Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥusayn b. Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan. His patronymic was Abū Aḥmad. Al-Mustaʿīn sent Muzāḥim b. Khāqān Urṭūj against him. The ʿAlid was in the environs of al-Kūfah at the head of three hundred men from the Banū Asad, and three hundred men of the Jārūdiyyah and the Zaydiyyah;[182] most of them were wool manufacturers. The governor of al-Kūfah at that time was Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Malik al-Khuzāʿī. The ʿAlid killed eleven of Ibn Naṣr's men, four of them troops in the city. Aḥmad b. Naṣr fled to Qaṣr Hubayrah and met with Hishām b. Abī Dulaf who was in charge of some of the hinterland and surroundings of al-Kūfah. When Muzāḥim reached the village of Shāhī, he received orders to position himself there until someone was sent to persuade the ʿAlid to return to the fold. He (Hishām) then sent Dāwūd b. al-Qāsim al-Jaʿfarī along with some money. The latter headed towards the rebel; but Dāwūd and his message were slow in coming to Mu-
[1618] zāḥim, and the latter had already marched off against al-Kūfah from the villgae of Shāhī. He entered the city, seeking the ʿAlid who had, in turn, fled. Whereupon, Muzāḥim sent an officer to pursue the

182. For more information on these Shīʿite groups, see Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, 19, 49–51, and Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 207–214.

rebel. He wrote of his conquest of al-Kūfah, sending the dispatch in a feathered mail pouch.

It was reported that the people of al-Kūfah urged the ʿAlid to fight Muzāḥim when the latter came up against him, and they promised him victory. The ʿAlid went out on the west side of the Euphrates, whereupon Muzāḥim dispatched one of his commanders on the east side with orders to march until he crossed the Kūfah Bridge. Then he was to return. The officer went to execute his orders while Muzāḥim ordered some troops who remained with him to ford the river at the crossing point of the Euphrates at the village of Shāhī. They were then to advance and engage the Kūfans in combat when they were arrayed directly in front of them. Thus they marched with Muzāḥim, who crossed the Euphrates leaving his baggage and the rest of his men. When the Kūfans saw them, they attacked. But Muzāḥim's commander reached them and attacked the rear while Muzāḥim (himself) was in front of the Kūfans. The government force overwhelmed the Kūfans, and not one of them escaped.

Ibn al-Kurdiyyah (reported that) thirteen of Muzāḥim's men were killed before he entered al-Kūfah. Among the Zaydī, the wool manufacturers, seventeen were killed. The bedouins lost three hundred men. When Muzāḥim entered al-Kūfah stones were thrown at him. He responded by hurling fire on both sides of al-Kūfah, burning seven marketplaces, until the fire reached al-Sabīʿ.[183] He also attacked the house where the ʿAlid was staying, but the latter had fled. Later he was brought back and killed. In that battle only one ʿAlid (supporter) was killed, while all the ʿAlid (supporters) who were in al-Kūfah were reportedly imprisoned, as were the Banū Hāshim; the [1619]
ʿAlid (himself) was one of them.

Abū Ismāʿīl al-ʿAlawī (told that) Muzāḥim reportedly burned a thousand dwellings in al-Kūfah and manhandled the ʿAlid's daughters. It was also reported that he took the servant girls of the ʿAlid, including a free woman who was in his charge. He set her up by the mosque door and auctioned her off.

In the middle of Rajab, 251 (August 12, 865), Muzāḥim received a letter sent by al-Muʿtazz in which the latter ordered him to join his side and promised him whatever he desired. Muzāḥim read the let-

183. A district of al-Kūfah named after the tribe Sabīʿ. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 187.

ter to his followers. The Turks, the Farāghinah and the Maghāribah responded positively, while the Shākiriyyah refused to go along. He marched on with those who obeyed him—some four hundred men. Abū Nūḥ had already preceded him to Sāmarrā, as the letter indicated. Muzāḥim had been waiting for word of al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, and when the latter was routed Muzāḥim marched off to Sāmarrā. With the conquest of al-Kūfah, al-Mustaʿīn sent Muzāḥim ten thousand dīnārs, five cloaks of honor, and a sword. As the (Caliph's) emissary was heading towards Muzāḥim, he met the latter's troops along the road. They returned everything to the palace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and reported to him about Muzāḥim. The troops and the Shākiriyyah were commanded by a lieutenant of al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd al-Ḥarrānī, Hishām b. Abī Dulaf, and al-Ḥārith, the lieutenant of Abū al-Sāj. Ibn Ṭāhir ordered that each of them be given three cloaks of honor.

[1620] It was also reported that this ʿAlid had risen in rebellion at Nīnawā at the end of Jumādā II, 251 (July 28, 865). A group of bedouins—some of whom had rebelled in support of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar in 250 (864)—joined him. Hishām b. Abī Dulaf had come to that region, and the ʿAlid attacked him with some fifty men. The latter was defeated and several of his followers were killed; twenty men were captured together with a young boy (*ghulām*). The ʿAlid then fled to al-Kūfah and hid there. Later on he reappeared.

The prisoners and the heads (of the dead) were taken to Baghdad. Five of the men were identified; they had served with Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, (were captured at that time) and (were) then set free. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh had ordered that anyone who had been set free and then returned (to rebellion) should be administered five hundred lashes.[184] They were beaten on the last day of Jumādā II (July 28, 865).

It was also reported that when the dispatches of Abū al-Sāj came with the news that he had defeated Bāyakbāk on the eighteenth of Rajab, 251 (August 15, 865), ten thousand dīnārs in aid were sent to him together with a gift of five cloaks of honor and a sword.

In this year, a battle reportedly took place between Mankajūr b.

184. It is not clear whether such an order was supposed to dissuade people from rejoining the battle once they had been freed, or whether *aṭlaqa* here means "to single out."

Ḥandarūs (?) and a group of Turks at the Madā'in Gate. In this battle Mankajūr defeated the Turks, killing several of them.

Also in 251, Balkājūr led a summer campaign in which he reportedly conquered some territory. [1621]

A battle between Yaḥyā b. Harthamah and Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh took place this year. Several men from both sides were killed and Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh was defeated.

On Thursday,[185] the twelfth of Sha'bān (September 8, 865), a battle took place at the Baghwārayā Gate between the Turks and the followers of Ibn Ṭāhir. The occasion for that was as follows. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim and the commander known as al-Nasawī were in charge of the Baghwārayā Gate at the head of some three hundred infantry and cavalry. A large contingent of Turks and Maghāribah came forward, pierced the wall in two places, and entered through the breaches. Al-Nasawī gave combat, but they routed him and reached the Anbār Gate, which was defended by Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab, Ibn Abī Khālid, and Ibn Asad b. Dāwūd Siyāh, who were unaware of the Turks' entry through the Baghwārayā Gate. They fought furiously against the Turks, and a number of men were killed on both sides. Then those Baghdadis who were at the Anbār Gate fled, paying attention to nothing else. The Turks and Maghāribah attacked the Anbār Gate with fire, and it was set aflame, as were the mangonels and ballistas situated there. They now entered Baghdad, reaching the Iron Gate and the Rahīnah Cemetery.[186] From the direction of the Shāri' quarter[187] they reached the street of the waterwheel workers,[188] burning everything in that vicinity before and after them. They hoisted their flags on the shops of that neigh- [1622] borhood, and the people fled leaving no one to face them. That took place at the time of the morning prayer.

Ibn Ṭāhir sent for the commanders and then rode out armed. He stopped at the gate of Darb Ṣāliḥ al-Miskīn,[189] where the com-

185. Read Saturday.

186. They seem to have entered the Ḥarbiyyah quarter of Baghdad itself. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, map facing p. 107; for Rahīnah, see Lassner, *Topography*, 71.

187. That is, just north of the Round City, ibid.

188. The text is *mawḍi' aṣḥāb al-dawālīb*. For dwellings of such professionals, see Lassner, *Topography*, 102.

189. Ṣāliḥ al-Miskīn owned property on both sides of Baghdad. See Lassner, *Topography*, 70, 82, and Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 249.

manders assembled to meet him. He dispatched them to the Anbār Gate, the Baghwārayā Gate and all the gates of the West Side. He massed men at these gates, while Bughā and Waṣīf rode out as well. Bughā with his men and his sons headed for the Baghwārayā Gate, while al-Shāh b. Mīkāl, ʿAbbās b. Qārin, and al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, together with the rabble, went to the Anbār Gate. They met the Turks inside the gate, where al-ʿAbbās b. Ḥāzin charged them at once and reportedly killed a group of them on the spot. He then had their heads sent to Ibn Ṭāhir's door. The people of Baghdad overwhelmed the invaders at these gates and pushed them back, forcing them out of the gateways after a group of them had been killed. Bughā al-Sharābī set out for the Baghwārayā Gate at the head of a large force. He caught the enemy by surprise, killing a large number of them as the rest fled. The Turks exited through the gate, but Bughā kept fighting them until late afternoon. Following their defeat the Turks withdrew. Bughā appointed someone to take charge of the gate, and then went to the Anbār Gate. He also directed that burnt bricks and gypsum be brought to block up the structure.[190] On this day, there was also a fierce battle at the Shammāsiyyah
[1623] Gate. It was reported that many were killed from both factions, and others were wounded. The one who fought the Turks that day was reportedly Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb Qūṣarrah.

In this year, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh gave orders to al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal to set up camp at the al-Yāsiriyyah, and he did. Later, he shifted to al-Kunāsah[191] where he was met by Balfardal, Ibn Mkhwnfhl[192] al-Ushrūsanī. Orders went out for recruits to join the latter, and some Shākiriyyah and others were subsequently attached to his command. It was also decreed that he join al-Muẓaffar and encamp at al-Kunāsah as part of a joint command securing that region. They both remained there for a while; then Balfardal ordered al-Muẓaffar to move out and obtain information about the Turks, in order to use this information to devise a strategy for dealing with them. Al-Muẓaffar refused, claiming that the commanding officer

190. It is not clear whether the gate itself was blocked or the bricks were used to block the breach in the wall.

191. If al-Kunāsah is the quarter in al-Kūfah, as in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 481, then he moved the camp site quite some distance and from the northwest of Baghdad to the south.

192. Both names, Balfardal and Ibn Mkhwnfhl, are uncertain.

gave no orders to that effect. Each of them then wrote, complaining about the other. Al-Muẓaffar sent word asking to be excused from his position at al-Kunāsah, claiming that he was not fit for combat. He was excused and ordered to depart and to remain confined to his house. Balfardal was given command of that army, both the reserves (*nā'ibah*) and the regular forces (*athbāt*). Al-Muẓaffar's regulars were also attached to his command as he took charge of the whole area.

In the month of Ramaḍān 251 (September 26–October 25, 865), Hishām b. Abī Dulaf encountered the rebellious 'Alid at Nīnawā. The latter was accompanied by a man of the Banū Asad. The two forces clashed, and about forty followers of the 'Alid were reportedly killed. After the factions parted the 'Alid entered al-Kūfah, whose [1624] inhabitants swore allegiance to al-Mu'tazz, while Hishām b. Abī Dulaf entered Baghdad.

Also in Ramaḍān, a battle took place in the vicinity of Jarjarāyā between Abū al-Sāj and the Turks. Abū al-Sāj routed them, killing a great number of Turks and capturing others.

On the day before the end of Ramaḍān, 251 (October 24, 865), Balfardal was killed. The circumstances of his death were as follows. When Abū Naṣr b. Bughā conquered al-Anbār and the adjacent area, forcing the armies of Ibn Ṭāhir to retreat from there, he dispatched his cavalry and infantry to the outskirts of West Baghdad. He then marched to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah which was held by Najūbah b. Qays for Ibn Ṭāhir, but the latter fled the city without giving fight. Abū Naṣr went on to the Sarsar Canal.[193] News of him reached Ibn Ṭāhir together with news of Abū al-Sāj's battle against the Turks in Jarjarāyā and the latter's disappointment with his recruits during the adverse conditions. Ibn Ṭāhir then selected Balfardal to march with his troops and join forces with Abū al-Sāj. Balfardal and his men moved out on Tuesday morning, the twenty-eighth of Ramaḍān (October 23, 865). He marched the whole day, and as morning broke he reached al-Madā'in at the same time as the Turks and others who were attached to their command. The commanders and men of Ibn Ṭāhir were stationed in al-Madā'in. The Turks engaged the loyalists in combat, and the latter were routed. The commander who had been in the city then joined Abū al-Sāj. Meanwhile,

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193. One of the major canals connecting the Euphrates with the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 49.

Balfardal had engaged the Turks in furious combat; when he saw
[1625] that Ibn Ṭāhir's men had been routed in the city, he and his troops headed towards Abū al-Sāj, but he was overtaken and killed.

Ibn al-Qawārīrī, who was one of the commanders, reported the following. I was in charge of the Baghdad Gate[194] together with Abū al-Ḥusayn. Mankajūr, himself, was in charge of the Sābāṭ Gate. There was a gap in the wall of al-Madā'in close to his gate. I asked Mankajūr to block it up, but he refused. The Turks then entered the city through it and dispersed his followers. Ibn al-Qawārīrī continued. I remained behind with some ten men when Balfardal himself arrived together with his troops. The latter said, "I am the field commander. I am a cavalryman, and I have cavalry with me. We shall march along the river banks,[195] while the infantry proceeds aboard the vessels." He resisted (the enemy) a while and then left seeking Abū al-Sāj, or the area where he was situated, leaving his troops aboard the vessels on their own. After his departure, I held my position for a while, dressed with ornaments and mounted on a blond horse. Then I rode it into a canal where it stumbled and threw me, and they made for me saying, "The master of the blond horse." I emerged from the canal on foot, and, having cast off my ornaments, I escaped. Ibn Ṭāhir was angered by Ibn al-Qawārīrī and his men, and he ordered them to confine themselves to their residences. Balfardal drowned.

On the fourth of Shawwāl, 251 (October 29, 865), Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir reportedly gathered all of his commanders, (those) who were in charge of the Baghdad gates and others. He consulted with all of them on the state of affairs and told them of the retreating armies that had come to them. Each of them responded to Ibn Ṭāhir's desires by expressing his readiness to sacrifice himself
[1626] and his possessions. He rewarded them handsomely and brought them in to al-Mustaʿīn, telling the latter of his negotiations with them and their favorable response to him. Al-Mustaʿīn said to them, "Commanders! I swear to you by God, if, indeed, I fight for myself and my authority, I fight only for your victory [*dawlah*] and for your subjects [*ʿāmmatikum*], and that God might bring you full circle,

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194. That is, the Baghdad Gate at al-Madā'in.
195. Probably along the Tigris, going north to Baghdad.

back to the status you enjoyed before the arrival of the Turks and their like.[196] It is incumbent upon you to be sincere in your advice and persistent in your fight with these profligates." They responded in the most positive manner, and he rewarded them handsomely. Ibn Ṭāhir then ordered them to leave for their command posts, and they did so.

On a Monday in Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 251 (November 24–December 23, 865), The Baghdadis engaged in a great battle in which they defeated the Turks and looted their camp. The circumstances were as follows. The gates were opened on both sides of the city. Mangonels and ballistas were set up at all the gates and in the river vessels in the Tigris. The entire army then came out of the city. Ibn Ṭāhir, Bughā and Waṣīf rode out when both factions were on the march, and the battle was engaged as far as the Gate of the Fief (of Umm Jaʿfar).[197] The three of them then crossed over to the Shammāsiyyah Gate, and Ibn Ṭāhir sat under a canopy that was erected for him. Archers with *nāwakī* bows moved out from Baghdad in skiffs. At times a single arrow went through several men, killing all of them. The Turks were routed, and the Baghdadis pursued them all the way to their camp, where they plundered their market. The loyalists set aflame one of the Turkish boats, known as The Iron One (*al-Ḥadīdī*); it had inflicted much damage on the people of Baghdad. Those who were in it drowned. In addition they took two of their [1627] river boats as the Turks fled, paying heed to nothing else. Every time a head was brought, Waṣīf and Bughā would say, "By God, the mawlās are broken."

The Baghdadis pursued them until Rūdhabār,[198] where Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil stood, and sent the mawlās back into the fight; he warned them that if they did not turn back, they would be totally routed and the enemy would pursue them all the way to Sāmarrā. As a result, they re-formed and returned to battle. The rabble began to sever the heads of the dead, for Muḥammad b. Abdallāh began to bestow necklaces and gifts to anyone bringing in a head.

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196. Note the melodramatic plea of a powerless caliph in the face of his Turkish commanders.

197. That is, the northern entrance to Baghdad.

198. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 77, identifies this place simply as one of the villages of Baghdad, meaning in the Baghdad region. The exact location is hard to determine.

The practice became excessive, however, and the Turks and the mawlās who were under the command of Bughā and Waṣīf were visibly displeased. Then, as a southerly wind carried the dust and the smoke of the burning fires, the banners of al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn were brought forward together with the Turkish flags. At the head of the flags was a red standard that was stolen by one of Shāhak's slaves who forgot to lower it. When the Baghdadis saw the red standard and those behind it, they imagined that the Turks had returned to do combat, and fled. Some of those who stood their ground attempted to kill Shāhak's slave, who now realized what was happening and lowered the flag. The people were fleeing in confusion as the Turks fell back to their camp, not knowing that the Baghdadis were in retreat and that they could attack them.[199] Thus the two factions broke away from each other.

In that year, Abū al-Salāsil, Waṣīf's agent (*wakīl*) in the region of of al-Jabal, battled with the Maghāribah. The battle was engaged at
[1628] the instigation of a Maghribī called Naṣr Salhab, who came at the head of a group of Maghāribah to some of the places which fell under the jurisdiction of Abū al-Sāj. He and his companions plundered the villages there. Abū al-Salāsil wrote to Abū al-Saj informing him of that, and the latter reportedly dispatched about a hundred infantry and cavalry. When they reached Abū al-Salāsil, they took these Maghāribah by surprise, killing nine of them and taking twenty prisoners; but Naṣr Salhab escaped at night.

After this engagement between the mawlās and Ibn Ṭāhir, the weapons of war were put aside and the battle was not renewed. The circumstances were reportedly as follows. Ibn Ṭāhir had already corresponded with al-Muʿtazz seeking peace before the battle. When this battle took place, he was criticized for it (by al-Muʿtazz), and word was sent to him in that regard. He responded that he would never again undertake anything that al-Muʿtazz would disapprove of. But the gates of Baghdad were closed shut after that, and the siege against them was intensified. On Friday, the first of Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 251 (November 24, 865), the populace cried out "Hunger!" and went to the island facing the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir. Ibn Ṭāhir sent word to them, "Send me five of your elders." And they complied. When the

199. The text is *taḥammalū ʿalayhim*; it should be read *yaḥmilū* as in the Leiden edition Glossary cciii.

elders were brought to him, he said, "There are certain things that the common people do not know. I am ailing, but I wish to give the soldiers their allotments and then lead them to fight your enemy." They were appeased and departed empty-handed. But the common people and the merchants later returned to the island facing the pal- [1629] ace of Ibn Ṭāhir, and they cried out complaining about the rise in prices and the hardships it caused them. Ibn Ṭāhir sent word to them and thus calmed them, promising (he would attend to their wishes) and, thereby, offering them hope. He also sent al-Mu'tazz an offer of peace as the affairs of the Baghdadis were thrown into disarray. Ḥammād b. Isḥāq b. Ḥammād b. Zayd arrived at Baghdad in the middle of Dhū al-Qa'dah, 251 (December 8, 865), and Abū Sa'īd al-Anṣārī was sent to Abū Aḥmad's camp as security (for Ḥammād's return). The latter met with Ibn Ṭāhir privately; there was no mention of what transpired between them. Ḥammād then went back to Abū Aḥmad's camp, and Abū Sa'īd al-Anṣārī returned. Later, Ḥammād returned to Ibn Ṭāhir, and many letters were exchanged between the latter and Abū Aḥmad through him.

On the twenty-first of Dhū al-Qa'dah (December 14, 865), Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl set out for Abū Aḥmad's camp together with Ḥammād and Aḥmad b. Isḥāq, the agent *(wakīl)* of 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā. They left with Ibn Ṭāhir's permission to negotiate peace with Abū Aḥmad.

On the twenty-third of Dhū al-Qa'dah (December 16, 865), Ibn Ṭāhir ordered the release of all those who had been taken prisoner in the battles between him and Abū Aḥmad, those who had supported the latter against him. On the morning of that day, a group of the regular infantry and many of the common people gathered. The troops demanded their allotments, and the people complained of the atrocious conditions which had been imposed upon them, owing to the rise in prices and the intensity of the siege. They said, "Go out and fight, or let us be." He promised them that he would either go out or open the door for peace. He gave them cause for hope, and they departed. But after that, on the twenty-fifth of Dhū al-Qa'dah [1630] (December 18, 865), he positioned a large number of troops at the prisons, bridges, the gates of his palace and at the island. Nevertheless, a large crowd came to the island and drove away those (troops) that Ibn Ṭāhir had brought there. Then they marched to the bridge from the East Side and liberated the women's prison, setting the detainees free. But they were stopped by 'Alī b. Jahshiyār and his

men of the Ṭabariyyah at the men's prison. Abū Mālik who was in charge of the eastern bridge resisted them, and they fractured his skull. They also injured two of his men's pack animals. He went into his residence,[200] leaving them to loot what they could find in his audience room. The Ṭabariyyah attacked, forcing them to give way until a group of them were pushed beyond the doors, which were locked behind them. Later, Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn crossed over to them and guaranteed the troops four month's allotments, whereupon they departed. Ibn Ṭāhir then gave orders that Ibn Jahshiyār's men be given two months' salary that very day, and it was done.

During those days, Abū Aḥmad sent out five vessels laden with flour, wheat, barley, fodder and straw to Ibn Ṭāhir, and they arrived. On Thursday, the fourth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (December 27, 865), the populace learned how Ibn Ṭāhir had deposed al-Mustaʿīn and rendered the oath of allegiance to al-Muʿtazz. They also learned that he had sent his commanders to Abū Aḥmad to obtain the oath of allegiance to al-Muʿtazz. They were each given four cloaks of honor. The common people thought that peace had been achieved with al-Mustaʿīn's permission and that al-Muʿtazz was appointed as his heir apparent.

On Wednesday, Rashīd b. Kāwūs, who was in charge of the
[1631] Salāmah Gate, left (the city) with a commander by the name of Nahshal b. Ṣakhr b. Khuzaymah b. Khāzim and with ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd. He sent word to the Turks that he is on his way to join them. About one thousand Turkish cavalry came to him, and he went out to them intending to greet them with the understanding that peace had been concluded. He greeted them, embracing those that he knew and they, in turn, took the reins of his mount and led him and his son behind him. On Monday, Rashīd went to the Shammāsiyyah Gate and said to the people, "The Commander of the Faithful and Abū Aḥmad send you their greetings. Their message to you is, whoever obeys us, we will promote him and reward him. Anyone who does not, will learn his lesson." The populace responded by cursing him. Following that, he circumambulated all the gates of the East Side and repeated his offer; at each gate he was

200. For the residence of ʿAlī b. Jahshiyār on the East Side of Baghdad, see Lassner, *Topography*, 78.

cursed as was al-Mu'tazz. When Rashīd did that, the people knew what Ibn Ṭāhir had been up to and went to the island facing his palace. They screamed at him and cursed him in the ugliest terms. Then they went to his door and did the same. Rāghib al-Khādim came out to them and urged them to continue what they were doing in their support of al-Musta'īn. But, following that, he went to the army barracks and brought along the troops and another group; altogether there were some three hundred armed men. They marched to Ibn Ṭāhir's door, dispersed those who were there and pushed them back. They kept on fighting the populace until they pushed them into the (open) corridor *(dihlīz)* of the palace.[201] They attempted to burn the entrance gate but could not find fire. Instead, they spent the whole night at the island cursing and reviling him.

Ibn Shujā' al-Balkhī (reported the following). I was with the amīr. [1632] While talking to me he heard everyone's curse against him. When they mentioned the name of his mother, he laughed and said, "Abū 'Abdallāh! I can't figure out how they came to know the name of my mother, since it was not known to many of the slave girls of Abū al-'Abbās 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir." I then responded, "O amīr, I have never seen anyone with more forebearance than you." He then said to me, "O Abū 'Abdallāh! I do not see anything better than being patient with them; besides, I have no alternative." When they awoke, the populace came to the door and cried out. Ibn Ṭāhir went to al-Musta'īn and asked him to go out and calm them and tell them of his condition. He appeared above the gate clad in the Prophet's cloak *(burdah)* and the lance *ṭawīlah*,[202] with Ibn Ṭāhir at his side. He swore to them invoking God's name, "I do not accuse him. I am indeed well and suffering no distress on his account." He also indicated that he was not deposed, and promised that he would come out the next morning and lead them in the Friday prayers while making his appearance. Most of them departed; several had already been killed. On Friday morning, the people arose early screaming for al-Musta'īn and then looted the pack animals of 'Alī b. Jahshiyār, which were at the ruins by the Bridge Gate on the East Side. As 'Alī

201. The exact architectural meaning is uncertain. According to *Lisān*, V, 349, it is any space between the outer door and the inner house. All sources agree, however, that it is a Persian word. See Shir, *Loan-Words*, 68, where it is translated as vestibule (*qanṭarah*).

202. The reference is to the *ḥarbah*. See n. 7, above.

fled, they took everything they could find in his residence and continued to behave in this fashion well into the day. Then Waṣīf, Bughā, their children, mawlās, officers and the maternal uncles of al-Mustaʿīn arrived. The entire populace then went to the door of (Ibn Ṭāhir's) palace. Waṣīf, Bughā and their retainers entered together
[1633] with al-Mustaʿīn's uncles, reaching the (open) corridor where they remained mounted.

Ibn Ṭāhir was told about the uncles, and gave them permission to dismount, but they refused, saying, "We will not dismount this day until we and the populace know the truth of the matter." Although messengers were continuously sent to them, they still refused. Finally, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh himself emerged, and asked them to dismount and go in to see al-Mustaʿīn. They informed him, "The common people became agitated because of the news that reached them. They have been able to verify your deposition of al-Mustaʿīn, and your swearing of allegiance to al-Muʿtazz. They have also verified your having sent the commanders to swear allegiance to al-Muʿtazz, as well as your intention to use intimidation in order to turn the rule over to him and allow the Turks and the Maghāribah to enter Baghdad. They know you would allow the latter to deal with them in the same fashion as they dealt with those who rebelled against them in al-Madā'in and the villages. The people of Baghdad are suspicious of you, and they accuse you of being against the Caliph and unmindful of their possessions, their children and themselves. They have asked for the Caliph to come out to them, in order that they see him and refute the news reaching them about him." When Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh confirmed the truth of their remarks and saw for himself the size of the mob that had gathered and its agitated state, he asked al-Mustaʿīn to go out to them. The Caliph then left for the Public Audience Hall. A chair was set aside for him there, and a group from the populace entered and looked at him. Then they left to tell those behind them that he was in good condition. But they were not convinced of this. When he realized that they would not be calmed without his going out to them—he had
[1634] known of the large crowd—he ordered the exterior iron gate locked. This was done.

Following that, al-Mustaʿīn, his paternal uncles, Muammad b. Mūsā al-Munajjim, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh all ascended the

stairs that lead to the roofs of the Public Audience Hall and the arsenals. Ladders were then set up for them against the roof of the audience hall where Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and al-Fath b. Sahl held sessions. (From there) al-Mustaʿīn appeared to the people. He was wearing a black garment covered by the Prophet's cloak and he carried the scepter *(al-qaḍīb).*[203] He spoke to the people and pleaded with them, asking them, for the sake of the cloak's (original) owner, to leave, for he (that is, al-Mustaʿīn) was safe and sound and was not under any distress on account of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. They asked him to ride out with them away from the palace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, as they were not certain of his safety. He informed them that he was about to transfer to the residence of his maternal aunt Umm Ḥabīb, the daughter of al-Rashīd, and that he would leave after his quarters were prepared and after plans to move the treasury, the arsenals and all his belongings from the palace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh were completed. Most of the people departed, and the Baghdadis calmed down.

When the populace of Baghdad continued to behave as they did, gathering time after time and addressing Ibn Ṭāhir in vituperative language, he sent word to the men of the city police to requisition every camel, mule and donkey that they could lay hold of so he could use them for moving. They say that he wanted to make for al-Madā'in, but a group of notables *(mashāyikh)* from al-Ḥarbiyyah[204] and the suburbs all gathered at his door to apologize to him and to ask him to forgive them their offenses. They pointed out that those [1635]
deeds were committed by the rabble and the riffraff on account of the grievous conditions they had to contend with and the poverty that had afflicted them. According to reports, he responded in a beautiful way, speaking kindly to them, forgiving them, and then praising them. He ordered them to approach their youth and their riffraff and to restrain them, and he agreed to set aside his departure. He then wrote to the city police to stop requisitioning the animals.

In the early days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (December 24, 865–January 21, 866), al-Mustaʿīn moved from the palace of Muḥammad b.

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203. Simply as a symbol of authority. See Qalqashandī, *Ṣubh*, III, 468.

204. For this quarter of Baghdad, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 122–135, and Lassner, *Topography*.

ʿAbdallāh, and he rode to the residence of Rizq al-Khādim in al-Ruṣāfah.[205] On his way, he passed by the palace of ʿAlī b. al-Muʿtaṣim, who came out and asked him to stay. Instead, al-Mustaʿīn asked ʿAlī to ride along. When he reached the house of Rizq al-Khādim, he took up residence there. He reportedly arrived in the evening, and at that time ordered ten dīnārs for each horseman and five for each footman. Ibn Ṭāhir rode in al-Mustaʿīn's train carrying the lance of authority in front of him, and the commanders followed behind. It was also reported that the evening al-Mustaʿīn moved to the residence of Rizq, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh stayed with al-Mustaʿīn for one third of the night and then departed. As for Waṣīf and Bughā, they stayed until the morning and then left for their own residences.

The morning following the night al-Mustaʿīn moved from the house of Ibn Ṭāhir, the populace gathered at al-Ruṣāfah, and the
[1636] commanders and the Banū Hāshim were ordered to go to Ibn Ṭāhir. They were to greet him[206] and ride with him to al-Ruṣāfah if he went there. They marched to him, and by late morning Ibn Ṭāhir rode (out) at the head of all his commanders in military formation surrounded by archers on foot. When he left his house, he waited for the people and then scolded them, swearing that he intended no evil against the Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him, nor against any of his supporters, nor any of the populace. He only wanted to improve their condition and ensure that they would continue to be favored. Moreover, he complained that he had no knowledge of the things they accused him of. Ibn Ṭāhir continued until he had the populace in tears. One of those present prayed for him, and he then crossed the bridge. Upon coming to al-Mustaʿīn he sent for the neighbors and the notables of the western suburbs. He spoke to them reproachfully and then apologized for the news that had reached them. Waṣīf and Bughā sent someone to circumambulate the gates of Baghdad with the news and appointed Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf over the Shammāsiyyah Gate.

It was reported that al-Mustaʿīn did not care to move from Muḥammad's palace, but he did so because the people sailed in skiffs carrying fire hurlers, intending to fire at Ibn Ṭāhir's balcony

205. That is, in the northeast quarter of Baghdad, south of Shammāsiyyah. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 187–198.
206. The text is *al-salām*; it should be read *taslīm*, as in Mss. O and M.

when they found it difficult to open the gate on Friday.

It was also reported that a group, including Kanjūr, stood at the Shammāsiyyah Gate on behalf of Abū Aḥmad and requested that Ibn Ṭāhir talk to him. The latter wrote to Waṣīf about these people and asked him to inform al-Musta'īn so that the Caliph might issue orders as he saw fit. Al-Musta'īn responded by giving him full charge [1637] of the matter and instructed him to proceed as he saw fit.

On that occasion, 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr al-Munajjim reportedly spoke to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh in a coarse manner. As a result Muḥammad b. Abī 'Awn pounced upon him, reviling him and abusing him physically.

Sa'īd b. Ḥumayd (reported that) Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl, al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad and 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā met privately with Ibn Ṭāhir and persisted in beguiling him *(yaftulūnahu bi-l-dhurwah wa-l-ghārib)*[207] and counselling him to conclude peace. Whenever (other) people were with him, they would launch conversation opposing peace, whereupon he would frown at them and turn aside. But whenever these three came he would receive them and hold consultations with them.

It was reported that one of them said he told Sa'īd b. Ḥamīd one day that Ibn Ṭāhir must have been filled with treason from the very beginning. But he responded, "I wish it were so. No, by God, I think it was only after his men were routed from al-Madā'in and al-Anbār that the group wrote to him and he responded to them in earnest."

Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī, who was the tutor of Ibn Ṭāhir's sons (reported that) Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh was sincere in his support of al-Musta'īn until he was dissuaded by 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān, who told him, "May God prolong your life. Indeed, the one you support and on whose behalf you strive is the most sacrilegious of people and the most deviant in observance, for he had given orders to Waṣīf and Bughā to kill you. They didn't act, as they were [1638] appalled. And if you doubt what I have described, ask and you will be told. As to his obvious sacrilegious behavior, during the prayers at Sāmarrā he never pronounced the *basmalah*[208] aloud; he only said it aloud when he came to you, in order to appease you and to

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207. Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 2244, col. 2.

208. That is to say: *bism Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*, "In the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate."

persuade you to cease from supporting your benefactor, your in-law [*ṣuhr*],[209] and the youth that you reared." When he was told more of the same, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh responded, "May God defeat the one who is no good for this world nor for the hereafter." During that session, the first one to attempt to dissuade Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh from supporting al-Mustaʿīn was ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā. Only then , did ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā gain the support of Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl and al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, and they did not desist with Ibn Ṭāhir until they succeeded in changing his mind in regards to his support for al-Mustaʿīn.

On the day of the Aḍḥā[210] feast this year (January 2, 866), al-Mustaʿīn led the Aḍḥā prayers on the island facing Ibn Ṭāhir's palace. The Caliph rode out with ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh in front of
[1639] him, carrying Sulaymān's lance. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl carried the lance of authority *(sulṭān)*, while Bughā and Waṣīf flanked the Caliph. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir did not ride along , however, and ʿAbdallāh b. Isḥāq stayed to pray at al-Ruṣāfah.

On Thursday, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh rode out to al-Mustaʿīn, who was attended by some jurists and judges. He reportedly told al-Mustaʿīn, "You have previously promised to execute anything I considered proper. I have a document [*ruqʿah*] in your own handwriting testifying to that." Al-Mustaʿīn responded, "Produce the document!" He brought it. It mentioned peace, but there was no mention in it of deposing (the Caliph). Al-Mustaʿīn then said, "Yes! start with the peace." At this, al-Khalanjī rose and said, "O Commander of the Faithful! He is asking you to shed [*takhlaʿa*] the shirt [*qamīṣ*] that God has granted you."[211] ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munajjim also spoke and addressed Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh crudely. After that incident, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh rode out in the middle of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (January 7, 866) to meet al-Mustaʿīn in al-Ruṣāfah, and then he departed with Waṣīf and Bughā. They all went to the Shammāsiyyah Gate, where Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh waited on his mount while

209. That is, related by marriage, for *ṣuhr* could be the husband of the sister or the daughter. See *Lisān*, IV, 471.

210. The *ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā*, "Sacrificial Feast," falls on the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and is the day when those who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca sacrifice at al-Minā. See *EI*², III, 1007.

211. Note the use of *khalaʿa*, "to take off the cloak" of authority, to mean "to depose," "to abdicate," etc.

Waṣīf and Bughā went to the residence of al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn. The Mubayyiḍah and the riffraff came down from the defense wall, and no one was allowed to open the gates; for earlier, a large group left (the city) for the camp of Abū Aḥmad where they bought what they wanted. When those whom we previously mentioned left for the Shammāsiyyah Gate, an announcement was made that the followers of Abū Aḥmad were not to trade with any of the Baghdadis; they [1640] were thus forbidden to sell (to them).

A large red canopy *(maḍrab)* had been erected for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh at the Shammāsiyyah Gate. Ibn Ṭāhir was accompanied by Bundār al-Ṭabarī, Abū al-Sanā, some two hundred cavalry and a like number of infantry. Abū Aḥmad drew close to the canopy in a fast skiff. The latter then disembarked and entered the canopy with Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. The troops accompanying each of them stood aside while Ibn Ṭāhir and Abū Aḥmad negotiated for a long time. Following this they exited, and Ibn Ṭāhir departed for his palace in a fast skiff.[212] As soon as he disembarked, he rode off to al-Mustaʿīn to tell him what transpired between himself and Abū Aḥmad. He stayed with the Caliph until afternoon and then departed. It was reported that when Ibn Ṭāhir left Abū Aḥmad, he left him with the impression that al-Mustaʿīn was to pay (the army) fifty thousand dīnārs and set aside a revenue of thirty thousand dīnārs a year for them. Moreover, he was to reside in Baghdad until enough money to pay the troops had been collected. Furthermore, he was to appoint Bughā as governor of Mecca, Medina, and the Ḥijāz, and Waṣīf as governor of al-Jabal and the neighboring regions. One third of the revenue was to be given to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and the Baghdad army, while the remaining two thirds were for the mawlās and the Turks. When Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl came to al-Muʿtazz, the latter reportedly appointed him in charge of the postal service and he left with the understanding that he would (later) be appointed as wazīr. ʿĪsā b. Farrukhānshāh was given charge of the bureau of taxation, Abū Nūḥ was entrusted with the privy seal and signatures *(tawqīʿ)*. Thus they divided the administrative tasks among themselves.

When the pouch of the pilgrimage season *(kharīṭat al-mawsim)*

212. The text reads *zallāl,* meaning "a fast boat." See Kinderman, *Schiff,* 35, and Khoury, *Nautical Sciences,* 772–3. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil,* VII, 160 uses the term *sumayriyyah* which is also a name of a ship. See Lane, *Lexicon,* I, 1426, col. 1.

arrived safely at Baghdad it was sent to Abū Aḥmad.[213] Ibn Ṭāhir reportedly rode out to al-Mustaʿīn on the sixteenth of Dhū al-Ḥij-
[1641] jah, 251 (January 8, 866). He did so to negotiate the (Caliph's) deposition. He held discussions with the latter, but refused (to step aside), thinking that Bughā and Waṣīf were with him. When they revealed the truth to him, al-Mustaʿīn responded, "Here is my neck, the sword and the throat." When Ibn Ṭāhir saw that al-Mustaʿīn refused, he left. Thereafter, al-Mustaʿīn sent ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munajjim and some of his (the Caliph's) trustworthy associates to Ibn Ṭāhir saying, "Tell him 'Fear the Lord. I came to you so that you would defend me. If you do not wish to do so, just let me be.'" Ibn Ṭāhir retorted, "I will sit in my home, but, whether you like it or not, you have to abdicate."[214]

ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā reported that Ibn Ṭāhir told him "Tell him [al-Mustaʿīn], 'If you take off the [cloak of authority], by God, there is no harm in that. For it is already shredded beyond repair. You will give up nothing by doing this.'" When al-Mustaʿīn realized his weakness and the betrayal of his supporters, he agreed to abdicate.

On Thursday, the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (January 10, 866), Ibn Ṭāhir sent Ibn al-Kurdiyyah, that is, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar al-Aṣghar b. al-Manṣūr, al-Khalanjī, Mūsā b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shaykh, Abū Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl and Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Munajjim to Ibn Aḥmad's camp. They were to deliver Muḥammad's letter to him; the letter concerned the things al-Mustaʿīn requested when he was urged to voluntarily abdicate. They delivered the message and Abū Aḥmad granted whatever he had requested. The response came in the form of a letter indicating that al-Mustaʿīn was being granted an estate *(yuqṭaʿ)*, that hence he would reside in the city of the Prophet (i.e., Medina), and that he would only be allowed
[1642] to move back and forth between Mecca and Medina. Al-Mustaʿīn agreed to those conditions, but he would not be fully convinced until Ibn al-Kurdiyyah took his request to al-Muʿtazz, discussed it with him and then obtained al-Muʿtazz's written approval, signed by his own hand. Al-Mustaʿīn thus sent Ibn al-Kurdiyyah to him.

213. The fact that the pouch was sent to him is an acknowledgement of his authority.

214. The text reads *lā budda laka min khalʿihā*, "You have no alternative but to take off the cloak," referring to the Prophet's cloak as an insignia of the caliphate. See n. 211, above.

The reported reason why al-Musta'īn decided to abdicate (is as follows). Waṣīf, Bughā and Ibn Ṭāhir held discussions with al-Musta'īn and advised him to abdicate, but he answered them harshly. Waṣīf then said to him, "You ordered us to kill Bāghar and that led us to this. You also urged us to kill Utāmish and said that Muḥammad is unreliable."[215] They kept on frightening him and beguiling him. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh said, "You also told me that our affairs were not going to be set right until we were rid of those two."[216] When he saw that they spoke as one, he acknowledged their request for him to abdicate, and he stipulated in writing his conditions that were incumbent upon them. This was on the nineteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (January 11, 866). On Saturday,[217] the twentieth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (January 12, 866), Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh rode to al-Ruṣāfah with all the judges and the jurists. He brought group after group of them to al-Musta'īn to witness that the former had entrusted Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir with his affairs. Following that, he brought in the doormen and the servants, and the jewels of the caliphate were taken from him. He stayed with him for part of the night, and the next morning the populace spread all kinds of alarming news.

Ibn Ṭāhir sent for his commanders; each was to bring ten of his leading men. When they came to him he had them enter and then raised their hopes with promises saying, "I did what I did for your good and safety and to avoid further bloodshed." He then commissioned a delegation to go to al-Mu'tazz with the conditions that he had set for al-Musta'īn, for himself, and for his commanders. Al- [1643]
Mu'tazz was to sign (the document) in his own hand. Following that, Ibn Ṭāhir sent them off to al-Mu'tazz. When they arrived, they obtained his signature, securing everything requested by al-Musta'īn and Ibn Ṭāhir. The delegates acted as witnesses to his approval of all that. Al-Mu'tazz, in turn, bestowed cloaks of honor upon them and gave them swords as gifts, but they left without any monetary rewards or personal favors. He sent along with them a group of his own men to secure al-Musta'īn's allegiance to him, but

215. The events referred to here are described above, pp. 1535–1538 of the Leiden edition and p. 1512 of the same edition.

216. That is, Waṣīf and Bughā.

217. This date is uncertain, for the tenth day before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah was not a Saturday.

he gave no orders concerning the (loyalist) army. The mother, sister and family of al-Mustaʿīn were returned to him after they had been searched and some of their belongings that were with Saʿīd b. Ṣāliḥ had been confiscated. Having left al-Muʿtazz, the emissaries entered Baghdad on Thursday, the third of Muḥarram, 252 (January 24, 866).

It was reported that when the emissaries of al-Muʿtazz passed al-Shammāsiyyah, Ibn Sajjādah said, "I fear the Baghdadis. Let al-Mustaʿīn be brought to al-Shammāsiyyah or to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's palace. He can render the Caliphal Oath to al-Muʿtazz there and formally abdicate, giving up the cloak and the scepter."

In Rabīʿ I, 251 (April 2–May 1, 865), the one called al-Kawkabī rebelled in Qazwīn and Zanjān. He conquered those places and expelled the Ṭāhirids. Al-Kawkabī's full name is al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Arqaṭ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

[1644] In this year the Banū ʿUqayl cut the Jiddah Road and were fought by Jaʿfar in Shāshāt, where three hundred Meccans were killed. It was one of the Banū ʿUqayl who said:

> You have two garments and my mother is nude
> cast me your cloak! You son of an adulteress!

When the Banū ʿUqayl did what they did, prices rose in Mecca and the bedouins attacked the villages.

In this year, Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib rebelled in Mecca, forcing Jaʿfar b. al-Faḍl b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, the governor, to flee. Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf looted Jaʿfar's residence as well as the residences of the government's men, killing the troops and a group of Meccans. He also seized the funds that had been brought for repairing the water fountain, the gold kept at the Kaʿbah, and the gold, silver, perfumes and coverings of the Kaʿbah which were in the city treasure house. He also confiscated some two hundred thousand dīnārs from the people, opened Mecca to looting, and burned some of it during Rabīʿ I of this year (April 2–May 1, 865).[218] Fifty days later he left the city and went to Medina where ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, its governor, had gone into hiding. But Ismāʿīl returned to Mecca and laid seige to it until its population began to die from starvation and thirst. Prices reached as high as one

218. See Fāsī, *Akhbār Makkah*, II, 195.

dirham for three *āwāq* of bread and four dirhams for a *raṭl* of meat; the price of a drink of water reached three dirhams.[219] After inflicting all kinds of calamities on the populace of Mecca, he left for Jiddah fifty-seven days later. He withheld food from the people [1645]
there, seized the possessions of the merchants and boat owners, and carried off wheat and mace from the Yemen to Mecca. The boats from the Red Sea arrived later. On the day of ʿArafāt[220] (January 1,866), Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf came to the place of assembly *(al-mawqif)*. At the place of assembly were Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. al-Manṣūr, known as Kaʿb al-Baqar, and ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī, commander of the Mecca garrison. Both had been sent by al-Muʿtazz to the city. He engaged them in combat, causing the death of some eleven hundred pilgrims. Subjected to robbery, the people fled to Mecca and did not assemble at ʿArafāt during the night or day; however, Ismāʿīl and his followers did assemble there before returning to Jiddah and looting everything there.

219. About three grams of silver. See Hinz, *Masse*, 2.
220. See n. 64, above.

The Caliphate of al-Muʿtazz

The Events of the Year 252

(JANUARY 22, 866–JANUARY 10, 867)

Among the events taking place, al-Musta'īn, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'taṣim, abdicated and rendered the oath of allegiance to al-Mu'tazz, Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Mutawakkil b. Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim. Prayers were said for al-Mu'tazz from the pulpits of both Friday mosques at Baghdad, the one on the East Side and the one on the West Side. This took place on Friday, the fourth of Muḥarram, 252 (January 25, 866). In addition, the oath of allegiance was obtained from the troops who were in Baghdad that day.

Ibn Ṭāhir reportedly came to al-Musta'īn along with Sa'īd b. Ḥumayd when the latter had written a document guaranteeing the Caliph's safety. Ibn Ṭāhir then said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful! Sa'īd has set down the conditions (for your safety) in unambiguous language. May we read the document for you to hear?" Al- [1646] Musta'īn then said, "Never mind that, why don't you disregard it, Abū al-'Abbās? Those people know God no more than you do. You gave assurances before they did, and you know what has happened." Muḥammad did not reply.

When al-Musta'īn swore allegiance to al-Mu'tazz, he did so in Baghdad. The act was witnessed by the Banū Hāshim, the judges, the jurists and the commanders. He then moved from the place where he stayed at al-Ruṣāfah to the palace of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl in al-

Mukharrim.[221] That is, he moved there together with his family, his children, and his servant girls. They were all housed there under the supervision of Saʿīd b. Rajāʾ al-Ḥidārī and his men. The signet, the cloak and the scepter were taken from al-Mustaʿīn, who sent along the following message with ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh:

> Now, Praise the Lord, the One Who sees that benefits [*niʿam*] are granted through His mercy, and Who rightly guides [men] to express gratitude to Him through His benevolence. God's prayers and salutations be upon Muḥammad, His servant and Messenger, unto whom He granted all the virtues that were distributed to all the previous Messengers, and Who, in turn, passed Muḥammad's inheritance to whomever He selected for succeeding him. My letter to the Commander of the Faithful, now that God has established his rule, is: "I had received the inheritance of the Messenger of God from the one who had it, and now I hand it over to the Commander of the Faithful with ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh, the mawlā of the Commander of the Faithful and his servant."

[1647] Al-Mustaʿīn was not allowed to go to Mecca, so he chose to take up residence at al-Baṣrah. Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd (reported that) Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Shākir exclaimed, "Al-Baṣrah is ridden with plagues. Why do you choose to live there?" Al-Mustaʿīn then retorted, "Which is more plague-ridden, al-Baṣrah or abdication?"

It was also mentioned that Qurb, Qabīḥah's slave girl,[222] brought a message to al-Mustaʿīn from al-Muʿtazz. In it the latter asked him to give up three of al-Mutawakkil's slave girls that he (al-Mustaʿīn) had married. He consented and gave the girls the freedom to choose for themselves. Al-Mustaʿīn had also withheld two (caliphal) rings; one was called al-Burj, the other al-Jabal.[223] Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh then sent Qurb, the intimate of al-Muʿtazz, and a group of people over to him. Al-Mustaʿīn gave them the rings, and they returned to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh who, in turn, sent them on to al-Muʿtazz.

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221. For the palace of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl on the East Side of Baghdad which later became the caliphal residence, see Lassner, *Topography*, 85f.

222. Qabīḥah was the mother of al-Muʿtazz.

223. For the history of this ring, see Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, 470–471.

On the sixth of Muḥarram (January 27, 866), more than two hundred boats laden with all kinds of merchandize and large numbers of sheep arrived at Baghdad. Al-Mustaʿīn was sent to Wāsiṭ with Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar b. Saysal and Ibn Abī Ḥafṣah, along with four hundred cavalry and infantry. Following that, ʿĪsā b. Farrukhānshāh and Qurb came to Ibn Ṭāhir and told him that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad had withheld a ruby *(yāqūt)* belonging to the caliphal jewels. Ibn Ṭāhir then sent al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl who retrieved it. It was a beautiful ruby, four fingers long, four wide. He (Aḥmad) had already written his name on it. It was given to Qurb who, in turn, took it to al-Muʿtazz.

Al-Muʿtazz made Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl his wazīr and granted him cloaks of honor and also placed a crown on his head. On the twelfth of Muḥarram (February 2, 866), Abū Aḥmad headed back to Sāmarrā accompanied by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad. [1648]
Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh was given five cloaks of honor and a sword, and then returned from al-Rūdhabār.

One of the poets composed the following about al-Mustaʿīn's deposition:

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad had been deposed from the caliphate
and his successor will either be killed or deposed.

The rule of his ancestors will vanish without seeing
anyone who rules and enjoys it.

O Banū ʿAbbās! Your way of dealing
with the death of your servants is now a beaten track.

You've mended your earthly world but
shredded your life so much beyond repair.

One of the Baghdadis recited:

I see that you are afraid of separation.
But the Imām has been expelled and deposed.

On his account the world used to be smiling
for he was the spring for those who sought a spring.

Don't you ever deny fate's upsets and vicissitudes
for fate separates those who were brought together.

[1649] He wore the caliphate and lovingly undertook
conducting all of the Muslim's affairs.

But the hand of fate afflicted him by dealing him
a war when he was as far as he could be from war.

The Turks broke away from him in mutiny
leaving him frightened after he had been full of courage.

He attacked them and they him as
brave hands and heads were covered with the same blood.

Destiny had moved him from the highest ranks
to settle in Wāsiṭ feeling he could not return.

They took him by surprise, beguiled him and betrayed him
and left him to keep to his bed perpetually asleep.

They encircled Baghdad from all its sides
and overcame what used to be impregnable.

Had he faced wars by himself
clad in his shields as he met them head on,

[1650] Facing brave men with his own brave [men]
in order to kill anyone who intended to fight,

He would have been beyond reach of fate's vicissitudes;
he would have been impregnable to the assault of the traitors.

But he refused the advice and reproof of the compassionate,
and obeyed, instead, the orders of traitors.

Authority can only be wielded by a ruler
who does not lay waste to genuine advice.

He kept on betraying himself by fooling himself
until he was betrayed from his rule.

Ibn Ṭāhir sold his religion for
an allegiance that had made the imām impregnable.

He disowned the caliphate and the subjects and fed himself,
thus disowning the religion of Muḥammad's God.

May he drink a bitter cup on that account,
and let him become a follower of those who follow him.

Muḥammad b. Marwān b. Abī al-Janūb b. Marwān recited the following when al-Mustaʿīn was deposed and went to Wāsiṭ: [1651]

Al-Muʿtazz is now in charge of all affairs
while al-Mustaʿīn has gone [back] to his old self.

He already knew that he was not cut out for rule.
It was yours all along, but he fooled himself.

The real ruler is the one who grasps rule and clasps it.
and now rule is brought to you, having been grasped from him.

The caliphate did not agree with him,
it was like a free wife given away in a temporary marriage *mutʿah*.[224]

How hateful it was for the people to offer allegiance to him!
How beautiful it was for them to say he's been deposed.

Would that a ship had pushed him till the end of the world [*qāf*].
I'd have sacrificed myself for the sailor pushing him off.

How many a king controlled the affairs of men before you;
burdened with your load, he would have been crippled.

224. For this kind of temporary marriage, see Schacht, *Introduction*, 163.

[1652] With you, people see affluence after distress;
God always grants a respite after crisis.

May God protect you, O King! from all evil
as He has protected us from distress by your aid.

My praise for you has never disappeared [*ḍāʿā*] nor has
your patronage [*iṣṭināʿ*];
I, thank God, have found my patron.

Give me back the estate [*ḍayʿah*] in Najd that was seized
from me;
it is the likes of you who grant estates to the likes of me.

If you were to give me back its revenue, O imām of justice,
God would let me cut off the noses of those who envy me.

He also said in praise of al-Muʿtazz after the deposition of al-Mustaʿīn:

The world has returned to its original state,
and God has gladdened us with its fortunes.

A world which God has relieved through you
of the terrible horrors it once held.

It had been ruled by an ignorant ruler,
and the world will never be right for ignorant ones.

The world had been locked by him,
until you became the key to its locks.

What you have succeeded to, in spite of him,
has been returned to its favored state.

[1653] A caliphate you were well deserving of,
God preferred you with its [ceremonial] garb.

God returned him to his original place
and returned it [i.e., the caliphate] to its former state.

It was not the first borrowed thing
that was returned by force to its owner.

By God, if he were to rule over a village
he would not be fit to rule any of it.

He inserted a shaking hand into the rule,
but soon pulled it out after inserting it.

God has exchanged him with a real master for us,
one who calmed the world after it had been badly shaken.

The community had been given this one for that
as if it had been living in the times of its false prophet.

He shouldered rule and its responsibilities
and shouldered war and its burdens as well.

What frustrated the dreams of the enemies
was your charge with horsemen and heroes.

You muster a cavalry that was always successful,
no cavalry could replicate its deeds.

Concerning the deposition of al-Mustaʿīn, al-Walīd b. ʿUbayd al-Buḥturī recited the following in the praise of al-Muʿtazz:

Hasn't he come to take command, and the darkness of the night
has been dispersed and life has been eased!

With shame we have returned the borrowed [one] [1654]
to its owners, and truth has been restored by its master.

I am amazed by this life; its misfortunes are debilitating.
But life is nothing other than misfortunes and miracles,

When the arrogant [man] hopes to be uncontested
concerning the bonds of the crown, or [hopes] that the turban will be placed on his head.[225]

How a usurper claimed the right of the caliphate
while the relatives of the Prophet have more right than he to his inheritance.[226]

The eastern pulpit cried when above it there bellowed
an ox revealing its dewlaps at the people.

Sluggish, but constantly by the side of the food,
watching the table, ready to pounce on it.

Once stuffed with whatever food he could find,
he cared little if the star of royalty shone or not.

[1655] The waiter who comes early to report [what he heard]
you find him slim on praise, fat on blame.

He bounded into an affair he couldn't control—
at times he flirted with it, other times he fought it.

Don't you see how truth has finally been established
and the fruits of injustice finished with completely?

Once al-Muʿtazz billāh marched out
he couldn't be defeated, as long as al-Muʿtazz remained the seeker.

He was forced to cast away the scepter obligingly
and the cloak of the Prophet was removed from his shoulders.

I rejoiced when I heard that he was sent quickly.
towards the East with his caravans and mounts driven by chants.

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225. The text is difficult: *yuthnā ʿalayhi ʿaṣāʾib (al-tāj)*, which seems to imply "securing the crown," as *shadd al-tāj* in Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ, III*, 480.

226. That is, inheritance of the Prophet.

To Kashkar behind the chicken for he was
not capable of fiercely attacking anything but the chicken.

The fluffy beard of the cloth washer [1656]
does not bring good to anyone equal in rank to him.

Ibn Khallād[227] becomes his choice poet
and is considered courageous while he writes foolishness.

I swear by the sacred valley with all the sacred things
in its low lands and high mountains,[228]

That al-Muʿtazz has urged the community of Aḥmad[229]
unto paths that lead to the clear highway of truth.

He rescued God's religion after its identifiable features
had been erased in us and its stars had set.

And he embraced the shining lights of rule
until it all gathered unto him from east and west.

Abū al-Sāj Dīwdād b. Dīwdast came to Baghdad on the twenty-third of Muḥarram, 252 (February 13, 866). Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh then appointed him to supervise all the land irrigated by the Eu- [1657] phrates. This Abū al-Sāj sent one of his lieutenants by the name of Karbah to al-Anbār, and (he sent) some of his men with another lieutenant to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. Abū al-Sāj also sent al-Ḥārith b. Asad at the head of five hundred cavalry and infantry to look into his domain and expel the Turks and the Maghāribah, who had been running wild and looting the countryside. On the third of Rabīʿ I (March 24, 866), Abū al-Sāj set out from Baghdad and distributed his men throughout the administrative districts (*ṭassūj*) of the Euphrates. He camped at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, and from there he went to al-Kūfah.

After having departed from his camp, Abū Aḥmad came to Sāmarrā on the nineteenth of Muḥarram (February 9, 866). Al-

227. He is probably the judge al-Ḥasan b.ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khallād who was also "a poet" according to Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 172.
228. That is, Mecca.
229. That is, the Prophet Muḥammad.

Mu'tazz bestowed six cloaks of honor upon him and gave him a sword, a golden crown—in the form of a tall hat *(qalansuwah)*—decorated with precious stones, and two golden sashes with precious stones. He was then given another sword encrusted with precious stones, and he was seated on a throne while the leading men of the commanders were given their cloaks of honor.

In this year, Sharīḥ al-Ḥabashī was killed. The circumstances were as follows. When peace was concluded, he ran off with a group of Abyssinians and cut the highway lying between Wāsiṭ and the area of al-Jabal and al-Ahwāz. He camped at one of the villages belonging to the mother of al-Mutawakkil—it was called Dayrī.[230] Sharīḥ took up residence in its caravanserai together with fifteen men. Once they had eaten and drunk, the villagers pounced on them. They bound them and then carried them off to Manṣūr b. Naṣr at Wāsiṭ, who took them to Baghdad. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, in turn, sent them off to the army camp. When they arrived there Bāyakbāk met Sharīḥ and cut him in half with the sword. He was
[1658] subsequently hung in public at Khashabat[231] Bābak. His companions were administered from five hundred to one thousand lashes.

During the month of Rabī' II 252 (April 21–May 19, 866), 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān died in Madīnat Abū Ja'far.[232]

Also in this year, al-Mu'tazz wrote to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh ordering him to drop the names of Bughā and Waṣīf and those they had registered from the dīwāns. Muḥammad b. Abī 'Awn, one of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh's commanders reportedly discussed killing Bughā and Waṣīf when Abū Aḥmad arrived at Sāmarrā. Ibn Abī 'Awn promised that he would kill them. When al-Mu'tazz sent a banner to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh and tied one for Muḥammad b. Abī 'Awn signifying the latter's authority to rule al-Baṣrah, Yamāmah and al-Baḥrayn, some followers of Bughā and Waṣīf wrote to them about this, warning them against Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh. On Tuesday, the twenty-sixth of Rabī' I (April 16, 866), both Bughā and Waṣīf rode off to Ibn Ṭāhir. Bughā spoke, "We have learned, O

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230. The reading is uncertain.

231. For Bābak, the leader of the Khurramite sect, and the place in Sāmarrā that carried his name, see *EI*^{2}, I, 844. For the quarter of Khashabat Bābak, see Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 259.

232. That is, the Round City.

amīr, of Ibn Abī ʿAwn's contract to kill us. That group has already betrayed us and broken their promises. If, however, they wish to kill us, by God they won't be able to do so." Ibn Ṭāhir, in turn, swore to them that he knew nothing of the matter. Bughā continued to talk tough, but Waṣīf tried to stop him, saying to Ibn Ṭāhir, "O amīr, that group has already betrayed us, but we intend to do nothing. We would rather stay put in our residences until someone comes to kill us." The two had come with a group of followers, and now they returned to their residences. They gathered their troops and mawlās, and started to prepare—buying weapons and distributing funds in their neighborhoods until the end of Rabīʿ I (April 20, 866).

When Qurb arrived, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh sent his secretary [1659] Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā to them. They went with him until they came to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's palace near the bridge. There they were met by Jaʿfar al-Kurdī and Ibn Khālid al-Barmakī, each of whom took a bridle (of their horses) and said, "You were brought in to be taken to the army camp, where a group has been preparing to kill you." They turned back and gathered a force, paying each man two dirhams a day, and then stayed at their residences. Waṣīf had already sent his sister Suʿād to al-Muʾayyad who had grown up in her care (*fī ḥijrihā*). She brought out a million dīnārs that had been buried at Waṣīf's palace and turned them over to al-Muʾayyad, and he, in turn, spoke to al-Muʿtazz concerning a pardon for Waṣīf. Al-Muʿtazz responded positively in writing, whereupon Waṣīf pitched his tents by the Shammāsiyyah Gate with the intention of leaving the city. Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil spoke for Bughā, and al-Muʿtazz responded in the same fashion for him. However, their situation had worsened while they resided in Baghdad.

The Turks later gathered with al-Muʿtazz and asked him to send for the two of them saying, "They are our elders and our chiefs." He sent them a written invitation with Bāyakbāk who brought the letter, accompanied by some three hundred men. The latter positioned himself at al-Baradān and sent the letter to them on the twenty-third of Ramaḍān, 252 (October 7, 866), but he also wrote to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh to detain them. They, in turn, sent their secretaries Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ and Dulayl b. Yaʿqūb to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh to ask for his permission to leave. A Turkish contingent came for them and encamped at the prayer platform (*al-*

muṣallā).[233] Waṣīf and Bughā now came out with their children and about four hundred of their horsemen, leaving behind in their
[1660] residence the immovable property and their households. The people of Baghdad wished them well, and they reciprocated.

Ibn Ṭāhir had already sent Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Wāthiqī and Bundār al-Ṭabarī to the Shammāsiyyah and Baradān Gates to detain them. But they went through the Khurāsān Gate without their secretaries even knowing.[234] Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh asked Aḥmad and Dulayl, "What have your patrons done?" Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ responded, "I left Waṣīf in his residence." When told (that Waṣīf) had just departed, he responded, "I had no idea." Once at Sāmarrā, Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl came to Waṣīf very early on Sunday, the twentieth of Shawwāl, 252 (November 3, 866), and visited him for a long time. He then departed and did the same with Bughā. Following that, Aḥmad returned to his residence, whereupon the mawlās gathered and asked him to return the two of them to their ranks. They received an affirmative reply, and he sent for the two of them. When they came, they were returned to the ranks they held before they went to Baghdad. An order was issued for their estates to be returned to them, and they were given the cloaks designating their rank. Al-Mu'tazz then rode to the Public Audience Hall and appointed Bughā and Waṣīf to their administrative positions. He also reappointed Mūsā b. Bughā the Elder over the postal bureau and the latter consented.

In Ramaḍān of this year (September 15–October 14, 866), a skirmish took place between the Baghdad garrison and the troops of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh. Commanding the garrison at the time was Ibn al-Khalīl. The circumstances leading to that were reportedly as follows. Concerning the harvest of 252, al-Mu'tazz wrote to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh asking him to sell the harvest of Bādurāyā,
[1661] Qaṭrabbul, Maskīn and other districts at an average rate of thirty-five dīnārs for two *kurrs.*[235] Al-Mu'tazz had given the post of Baghdad to a man by the name of Ṣāliḥ b. al-Haytham. The latter's brother had been in the service of Utāmish during the reign of al-

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233. Originally, any prayer platform would be called a *muṣallā*. Here it seems to have become associated with a specific place. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 204. For similar places in other cities, such as Damascus, see Dhahabī, *Duwal*, 105, n.4.

234. That is, they went east instead of north.

235. A *kurr* is about 2.9 tons. See Hinz, *Masse*, 43.

Mutawakkil. This Ṣāliḥ rose in rank during the days of al-Mustaʿīn. He was one of those who took up residence at Sāmarrā, although he was from the Mukharrim section (of Baghdad). His father had started out as a weaver before he took to selling spun wool. His brother joined him at a later time, when his fortunes rose.

While at Baghdad, Ṣāliḥ received a letter which was to be read to the Baghdadi commanders such as ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Wāthiqī, Muḥammad b. Harthamah, Muḥammad b. Rajā', Shuʿayb b. ʿUjayf and their like. After he read it to them, they went to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and told him about it. Orders were then issued by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, and Ṣāliḥ b. al-Haytham was brought to him. Muḥammad asked him, "What made you do that without my knowledge?" He threatened Ṣāliḥ and cursed him. Then he said to the commanders, "Wait until I decide what to do, and then issue orders concerning my intentions." They left with that understanding. Following that, on the tenth of Ramaḍān (September 24, 866), the recruits, the Shākiriyyah, and the reserves gathered at Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's door asking for their allotments. He responded by telling them about the Caliph's letter, which had come to him in answer to one sent by him concerning the service pay of the Baghdad garrison. The Caliph's letter went, "If you recruited men to serve you, pay them. If you recruited them for us, we have no need of them."

When this letter reached him, the army had been rioting for a full [1662] day. He therefore took out two thousand dīnārs and payed them, whereupon they quieted down. But on the eleventh of Ramaḍān (September 25, 866), they gathered, carrying banners and drums, and pitched their various tents by the Ḥarb Gate and the Shammāsiyyah Gate among others. They also built huts of matting and cane, and spent the night there. Their numbers increased as the morning came. Ibn Ṭāhir, on the other hand, had some of his elite troops stay the night at his palace, giving each of them one dirham. But as the morning came, they went out and joined the rioters. Ibn Ṭāhir then called in the troops who had come with him from Khurāsān and gave them two months pay. He also paid the veteran Baghdadi troops two dīnārs for a cavalryman and one for a footsoldier, thereby filling his house with men.

On Friday, a great number of rioters gathered by the Ḥarb Gate bearing arms, banners and drums. They were under the command of

a man called ʿAbdān b. al-Muwaffaq—his patronymic was Abū al-Qāsim. He was one of the regular fighters *(athbāt)* in the command of ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān; however, his listings were in the payroll register of Waṣīf. Abū al-Qāsim had come to Baghdad, sold one of his residences for one hundred thousand dīnārs and set out for Sāmarrā. When the Shākiriyyah rebelled at the Public Gate he went along with them. As a result, Saʿīd al-Ḥājib gave him five hundred lashes and imprisoned him for a long time before finally releasing him. Abū al-Qāsim then came to Baghdad during the disturbances in the reign of al-Mustaʿīn, and he attracted these rioters, urging them to demand their allotments and their back pay. He also assured them that he would lead them and manage their affairs. They con-
[1663] sented to that, and on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday he spent about thirty dīnārs to supply them with food. Those who were self-sufficient had no need for his largesse for they went home (to eat), as usual. On Friday, a large number of them gathered and decided to go into the city *(madīnah)* and make their way to the imām in order to prevent him from leading the prayer and from calling for allegiance to al-Muʿtazz.[236] They marched in military formation through the quarter of the Ḥarb Gate until they reached the city gate in the Damascus Gate quarter. At every street they passed, this Abū al-Qāsim placed a group of rioters consisting of lancers and swordsmen. They were to secure the streets lest someone emerge from them to offer combat. When he reached the city, a large group of people entered along with the rioters and went to the area between the two gates and the arcades.[237] They stood there for a while and then dispatched about three hundred armed men to the court *(raḥbah)* surrounding the city's Friday Mosque.[238] A large throng of the general populace went with them and positioned themselves in the court. They came to the imām Jaʿfar b. al-ʿAbbās and told him that they did not object to his praying, but they would object if he

236. This is the imām of the Friday Mosque in the Round City. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 33–37.

237. Arcades is a translation of *ṭāqāt*. For the exact location, see the diagram showing the doors and the *ṭāqāt* in Creswell, *Architecture*, 171, and Lassner, *Topography*, Appendix E, 207–213.

238. It is not clear whether *raḥbah* here refers to that by the gate, near the small *ṭāqāt*, or to an open space around the mosque itself.

called for allegiance to al-Muʿtazz. Jaʿfar responded that he was sick and would not be able to lead the prayer, whereupon they left him alone and made for the street of Asad b. Marzubān, filling the quarter *(shāriʿ)* connecting it with Darb al-Raqīq.[239]

The rioters appointed a group to take charge of the gate to the street of Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar and then made for the (upper) bridge by way of the blacksmiths' quarter[240]. Ibn Ṭāhir dispatched a number of his commanders against them, including al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, al-ʿAbbās b. Qārin, ʿAlī b. Jahshiyār and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Afshīn. They [1664] rode at the head of a group of cavalry. The commanders negotiated with them and pushed them back gently; but the Shākiriyyah and the troops charged them, whereby several of Ibn Ṭāhir's commanders were wounded. One of Ibn Qārin's pack animals was taken together with Ibn Jahshiyār and a Syrian, one of ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā's recruits by the name of Saʿd al-Ḍabābī. They also wounded one known as Abū al-Sanā, and forced the troops all the way back from the bridge, to the gate of ʿAmr b. Masʿadah's residence.[241] When those on the East Side saw that their friends had managed to repulse Ibn Ṭāhir's men from the bridge, they exclaimed "God is Great!" and charged, in an attempt to cross over to their friends. Ibn Ṭāhir had already prepared a boat with thorns and reeds to be set on fire and pushed in the direction of the upper bridge. He carried out his plan, and the boat burned most of the bridge's pontoons, cutting it off to traffic. The boat then made its way to the other bridge,[242] but the rioters on the West Side caught up with it and sank it; then they put out the fire that had spread to the bridge's pontoons.

A large group then crossed from the East Side to the West, pushed Ibn Ṭāhir's men from the vaulted passageway *(sābāṭ)* of ʿAmr b. Masʿadah's residence, and stormed the gate of Ibn Ṭāhir's palace. The Shākiriyyah and the troops went to the passageway of ʿAmr b. Masʿadah's residence, and by noon some ten men from both factions were dead. A group of rabble and common people went to the assem-

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239. For the location of these activities along the main road near the Damascus Gate, northeast of the Round City, see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 248–249.

240. This is probably in the Ḥarbiyyah quarter, going northwest from the Round City.

241. For this residence on the West Side, see Lassner, *Topography*, 70.

242. That is, to the other two bridges spanning the Tigris.

bly hall *(majlis),* known as the Police Headquarters (Majlis al-Shurṭah), on the western side of the bridge.[243] From there, they went to a building known as the Bayt al-Rufū', and broke the door [1665] down. They looted whatever they found in it —it was filled with all sorts of wares. They fought over it, leaving nothing behind of its rich contents. Ibn Ṭāhir burned both bridges when he saw that the (Baghdad) garrison were winning against his men, and he ordered that the shops lining Sulaymān Street in the Bridge Gate section be set aflame right and left. That was done, and in the shops the fire consumed great amounts of merchandise belonging to the merchants. The walls of the Police Headquarters collapsed as well. When the shops were set ablaze, the fire separated the two factions. The garrison then proclaimed aloud "God is Great!" and left for their camp at the Ḥarb Gate, while al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl and some of the Shākiriyyah commanders went to the merchants and the populace. They chastized them for supporting the troops saying, "Those [troops] have fought for their bread and, thus, could be excused. But you, being the neighbors of the amīr, those obligated to support him, why did you do what you did? You aided the Shākiriyyah against him and threw rocks when the amīr was preoccupied." Muḥammad b. Abī 'Awn then went to them and told them similar things before going to Ibn Ṭāhir. The rioting troops remained in their positions and camps, but a contingent of regular warriors joined Ibn Ṭāhir. He now gathered all of his followers, positioning some of them in his palace, others in the thoroughfare connecting his palace to the bridge. He assembled them in battle formation, fearing that the Baghdad garrison might attack him again.

But that did not happen. Instead, one day two of the rioters asked him for safe conduct and came to (see) him—this was when Ibn [1666] Ṭāhir was afraid they would return—and the two informed him of the breaches in their companions' defences. He ordered that these men be given two hundred dīnārs and then commanded al-Shāh b. Mīkāl and al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl to march out to the Ḥarb Gate after the second evening prayer, at the head of a group of their men. They were to speak gently to Abū al-Qāsim, the commander, and Ibn al-Khalīl, who was a companion of Muḥammad b. Abī 'Awn. When

243. That is, at the west end of the main bridge. See Le Strange, *Baghdad,* map facing p. 107, n. 7.

they got there, Abū al-Qāsim and Ibn al-Khalīl had already gone off in opposite directions. They feared for their safety after the two men had gone to Ibn Ṭāhir together with a third man called al-Qummī. Moreover, they were afraid because the Shākiriyyah had broken away from them. Al-Shāh and al-Ḥusayn pursued them until they left the Anbār Gate, en route to the Baṭāṭiyah Bridge. Ibn al-Khalīl reportedly met them before they reached the Baṭāṭiyah Bridge[244] and called out to them and their companions, asking them to identify themselves. Then they called out to him. As soon as he recognized them, he attacked, wounding several of them. But they managed to surround him, and, as he was in the middle of the group, he was stabbed by one of al-Shāh's men who threw him to the ground. 'Alī b. Jahshiyār ripped him open with a sword while he was on the ground. He was carried off on a mule, hardly breathing, and died before reaching Ibn Ṭāhir. Al-Shāh ordered that his body be cast away in an enclosure by the entrance corridor to the palace until it could be transported to the East Side.

As for 'Abdān b. al-Muwaffaq, he had already gone to his residence [1667]
and from there into hiding. The authorities were guided to him, and he was subsequently captured and carried off to Ibn Ṭāhir. The Shākiriyyah, who were at the Ḥarb Gate, dispersed and went to their homes. 'Abdān b. al-Muwaffaq was shackled with two chains weighing thirty *raṭls*. Later, al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl came to the prison in the Public Audience Hall where 'Abdān was being held. Al-Ḥusayn sat on a chair and summoned him. He asked if he was an agent for someone or if he did what he did on his own. 'Abdān responded that he was no one's agent; he was one of the Shākiriyyah who simply demanded his bread. When al-Ḥusayn returned to Ibn Ṭāhir and informed him of this, Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad went out with his brother to the interior wing of the Public Audience Hall. The two sat down and called in those commanders who slept in the building, as well as al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl and al-Shāh b. Mīkāl. They also sent for 'Abdān who was carried in by two men. Al-Ḥusayn was the one who addressed him saying, "You are the leader of the people." To which he retorted, "No! I am only one of them, seeking what they sought." Al-Ḥusayn cursed him, and Ḥarb b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥarb called out, "You lie! You are the leader of the people and we

244. For this bridge, see Lassner, *Topography*, 103.

have seen you mobilize them at the Ḥarb Gate, at the city[245] and at the Damascus Gate." He continued to insist, "I was not their leader but, rather, one of them, seeking what they sought." Al-Ḥusayn cursed him again and gave orders that he be slapped; and he was. He also ordered that he be dragged by his fetters; and he was, until he was taken out of the house and cursed by everyone who followed him.

Then Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad went to his father and told him the story; whereupon ʿAbdān was put on a mule and taken to jail, while
[1668] Ibn al-Khalīl was put in a skiff and transported to the East Side, where he was hung and displayed to the public. Orders were also given that ʿAbdān be stripped and administered a hundred lashes with the knotted part of the whip. Al-Ḥusayn, wishing to kill him, said to Muhammad b. Naṣr, "How about giving him fifty lashes on his waist?" To which Muḥammad answered, "This is a glorious month,[246] and it is illegal for you to do that to him." Therefore, Muḥammad ordered that he be put on display while still alive, and this was done. He was carried on a ladder until he was hung on the bridge, to which he was tied with ropes.[247] ʿAbdān asked for water after he was displayed, but al-Ḥusayn prohibited him from getting any. Al-Ḥusayn was told that if he drank water he would die, to which he replied, "Then let him drink." He was given a drink and left to hang until mid-afternoon. After that, he was imprisoned for two days; he died on the third with the coming of noon. Orders were given that he be hung and displayed on the same wooden plank where Ibn al-Khalīl had been displayed before him. The body of Ibn al-Khalīl was given to his faithful followers, and it was buried.

In Rajab, 252 (July 18–August 16, 866) al-Muʿtazz removed his brother as heir to the throne.

The Reason For Removing Him

The reason for that, according to information we received, is the following. Al-ʿAlāʾ b. Aḥmad, the governor of Armīniyah, sent Ibrāhīm

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245. That is, the Round City.
246. That is, *Ramaḍān*, the month of fasting.
247. Bridges, as main gathering points, seem to have been favorite places for displaying criminals and enemies of the State.

al-Mu'ayyad five thousand dīnārs to settle his affairs; however, Ibn Farrukhānshāh sent for it and took it. Al-Mu'ayyad therefore incited the Turks against 'Īsā b. Farrukhānshāh, but the Maghāribah resisted them. It was then that al-Mu'tazz sent for his two brothers, al-Mu'ayyad and Abū Aḥmad, and imprisoned them at the Jawsaq Palace. He put al-Mu'ayyad in chains and held him in a small room. At the same time, he paid generous bonuses to the Turks and the Maghāribah. He also imprisoned Kanjūr, al-Mu'ayyad's chamberlain *(ḥājib)*, and beat him fifty times with a rod. In addition, he administered five hundred lashes to Abū al-Hawl, Kanjūr's deputy, and had [1669] him paraded around on a camel. Afterwards, he expressed satisfaction with him, as well as Kanjūr, and Abū al-Hawl returned to his residence.

It was also reported that he had his brother al-Mu'ayyad beaten forty times with a rod. He was deposed later, in Sāmarrā on Wednesday, the seventh of Rajab (July 24, 866),[248] and in Baghdad on Sunday, the eleventh of Rajab (July 28, 866). This was after al-Mu'ayyad signed a document in which he abdicated his position. On the twenty-fourth of Rajab—some say the twenty-sixth—(August 10 or 12, 866),[249] Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far, who was known as al-Mu'ayyad, died.

The Cause of His Death

One of the Turkish women reportedly came to Muḥammad b. Rāshid al-Maghribī and told him that the Turks were seeking to get Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad out of prison. Muḥammad b. Rāshid then rode off to al-Mu'tazz and told him about that, and he, in turn, summoned Mūsā b. Bughā and interrogated him. The latter denied it, saying, "O Commander of the Faithful! They wanted to free Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil on account of their feelings for him during the past conflict. As for al-Mu'ayyad, [what you have been told is] not true." But on Thursday, the twenty-second of Rajab (August 8, 866), the Caliph summoned the judges, jurists, witnesses and nota-

248. The text says Friday; read Wednesday. The next date is correctly given as Sunday, the eleventh of Rajab.

249. This must be the date when his death was announced publicly, for the next paragraph details the account of his death, which was certified by witnesses, judges, etc., on the twenty-second of Rajab (August 8, 866).

bles, and the dead body of Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad was brought to them containing no mark or wound.[250] He was taken on a donkey to his mother, Umm[251] Isḥāq; she was also the mother of Abū Aḥmad. Carried along with him were the shrouds and the funerary perfumes (*ḥunūṭ*). Orders were subsequently given to have him buried. Abū Aḥmad was then transferred to the cell where al-Mu'ayyad had been.

It was reported that al-Mu'ayyad was inserted into a fur wrapper whose sides were (tightly) wrapped until he died (of suffocation). Other reports say that he was seated on an ice block and his body was covered with ice until he died from cold.[252]

[1670] In Shawwāl of this year (October 15–November 12, 866), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mustaʿīn was killed.

The Report of His Death

It was reported as follows. When al-Muʿtazz intended to kill al-Mustaʿīn, he wrote to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir urging him to execute the former caliph and to dispatch his lieutenant's men to the outlying districts (*ṭassūj*). Later, a letter was also sent to Ibn Ṭāhir with a servant, called Sīmā, in which the amīr was ordered to write to Manṣūr b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah, the governor of Wāsiṭ. The latter was to deliver al-Mustaʿīn to Ibn Ṭāhir. Al-Mustaʿīn was residing there in the charge of Ibn Abī Khumayṣah, Ibn al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal, Manṣūr b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah, and the postal chief. Muḥammad wrote demanding that al-Mustaʿīn be delivered to him. It was said that he subsequently dispatched Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn the Turk at the head of a contingent of troops. The latter brought al-Mustaʿīn out (of Wāsiṭ) on the twenty-fourth of Ramaḍān (October 8, 866), and he arrived with him at al-Qāṭūl[253] on the third of Shawwāl (October 17, 866).

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250. The intention is to have legal witnesses to the fact that al-Mu'ayyad was not murdered, and that he did not die a violent death, but rather of natural causes.

251. The text is *ummihi*; it should be read *umm* as in Ms. C.

252. Such fanciful methods of execution seem to be the work of the chroniclers themselves. See, e.g., the account of al-Muʿtazz's death, p. 1711 of the Leiden edition, and the account of the death of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, the uncle of Caliph al-Manṣūr (754–775) in Lassner, *Shaping*, 41.

253. See n. 92, above, for the location of Qāṭūl.

It was also said that Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn was in charge of al-Musta'īn, and that it was Sa'īd b. Ṣāliḥ who was sent to bring al-Musta'īn from al-Qāṭūl after he had been brought there by Ibn Ṭūlūn. Still other reports are at variance with these two. Some said that it was Sa'īd who killed him at al-Qāṭūl, and that on the day after he killed him he brought in al-Musta'īn's slave girls and told them, "Look at your master. He is dead." Others said that Sa'īd brought him to Sāmarrā together with Ibn Ṭūlūn, and the former went with him into his residence[254] where he tortured him to death. Another report said that he sailed with al-Musta'īn in a skiff filled with supplies until they [1671] reached the mouth of the Dujayl. At that point, he tied a stone to al-Musta'īn's feet and cast him into the water.

A Christian physician by the name of Faḍlān, who was in the company of al-Musta'īn, reported the following. I was with him when he was carried off. He was taken along the Sāmarrā Road, and when he reached a waterway he saw a procession, a group of people carrying banners. He told me, "Go ahead and take a look. If it is Sa'īd I'm finished." I went up to the lead men of the force and asked them. They said, "It's Sa'īd the gate keeper *(bawwāb)*." I then went back and reported this. He was in a domed litter accompanied by a woman. He said, "We are God's, and unto Him we shall return. By God, I am dead." I lagged a bit behind him. The lead men of the force met him and charged. Forcing him and his nurse *(dāyat)* down, they struck him with their swords. He and his nurse screamed, and then he was killed. At that point the troops departed. I reached the spot, and behold, he was dead in his drawers with no head. The woman was also dead with several stab wounds. We ourselves cast the river's earth upon them until we covered them, and [then we] departed. When his head was brought to al-Mu'tazz, the latter was playing chess. Told that it was the head of the deposed, he said, "Put it there." Then he finished playing. Following that, the Caliph had it brought to him. He looked at it and, subsequently, ordered that it be buried. Fifty thousand dirhams were given to Sa'īd, and he was put in charge of the security *(ma'ūnah)* of al-Baṣrah.

One of al-Musta'īn's pages *(ghulām)* said that when Sa'īd received al-Musta'īn, he had him dismount and ordered one of the Turks to

254. The text is *manzilan lahu*; it should be read *manzilihi*, as suggested by Ms. O.

[1672] kill him. Al-Mustaʿīn asked Saʿīd to grant him time until he finished two prostrations in prayer. Saʿīd asked the Turk to demand the cloak that al-Mustaʿīn was wearing before killing him; this he did. When al-Mustaʿīn bowed down for the second prostration, the Turk killed him and severed his head. Saʿīd then had him buried and hid the place of his burial.

Praising al-Muʿtazz, Muḥammad b. Marwān b. Abī al-Janūb b. Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah composed the following verse on the affair concerning al-Mu'ayyad:

You are the one who holds the world fast if it ever trembles.
You can, indeed, hold both the world and religion if they tremble.

Your subjects, may God keep you for them,
wish that with your justice you'll be preserved for generations.

You had to deal with a very difficult war,
but your arrows were of hardwood, not of willow.

You were never the first head to be betrayed by a tail,
for you were indeed the head, and the traitor [was] the tail.

If he had succeeded in accomplishing what he plotted,
both Islam and royalty would have vanished.

He wanted to destroy our world and to devastate it.
But it was religion that he really wanted to destroy.

[1673] As soon as he rose in rebellion with his impudence,
he found the imām of justice having already risen against him.

He shot an arrow at you but missed with it.
Whoever shoots his arrow at you, it boomerangs at him.

You had seen to it that he was well respected,
while he was ungrateful and disrespectful [to you].

No brother had ever done so much good for another brother
as you did.
We were always there to witness that.

You were always busy and drained by a war.
While he was playing, and you never charged him with any
responsibility.

O generous one, he was always given without asking.
And you, generous one, always gave him with no requests.

You were more faithful to him than his own father;
you were indeed a father in faithfulness, not a brother.

His seat was always close to the throne of rule,
but it was he who pulled away after he had been close.

He had several benefits that are now gone; he also had [1674]
an open house and was visited, but now he is secluded.

He is now isolated, after his processions,
twenty thousand men in groups were seen behind him.

Where are the ranks who used to rise with him
every time he came and every time he went?

Now he is humiliated after his transgressions and insolence
just like a big fish whose water has suddenly dried.

You have set every neck free from his allegiance.
no preacher would call his name if he ever preaches.

You gave him a title after elevating his rank,
as if God has exchanged his command for his title.

You dressed him with robes of glory, but he neglected it;
it was disregarded and thus was seized from him.

How many a time you shared with him your benefits,
 but God now removed him from grace because of his deeds.

He is just like a lamp which had lots of fire,
 but now you've left for him no light or flame.

[1675] The land grants [*qaṭīʿah*] to Ibrāhīm had already
 severed [*qaṭaʿat*]
 the rope of peace and cut the rope of love.

You, generous one, never took anybody to task
 without succeeding in defeating them and exposing their faults.

I build my fame on praising the Banū ʿAbbās,
 and praise of the Banū ʿAbbās is now my name.

The fear of God, Banū ʿAbbās, has become your way of life,
 so much that Quraysh learn to conduct themselves from you.

Anyone who is brief in regard to your praise,
 I am not with him, Thank God, nor am I brief.

Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fazārī,[255] reported what a young man from Sāmarrā had told him about the deeds of the people of Sāmarrā concerning the Turks: When the caliphate came to al-Muʿtazz and God gave him command over His servants wherever and whoever they might be, namely, the east, the west, on land, on sea, nomads or urban dwellers, in the plains or on mountains, he was displeased with the ill-advised choices of the people of Baghdad and with their rebellion. Al-Muʿtazz thus called for a group of clear-minded people who were good tempered, kind in their presumptions, sound in nature, of perceptive instincts and perfect for rational council. The Commander of the Faithful then said:

[1676] Won't you look at this band of lowly and foolish barbarians whose hypocrisy has become famous and whose aspirations have become base. There is no way to restrain them; they have

255. The reading is uncertain. It could also be read as Qānī, Fānī, etc., or probably Qāyinī.

no discernment or scrutiny. Their rush into folly has extolled their evil deeds; thus, they became a minority, in spite of their numbers, and are always cursed whenever they are mentioned. I have come to know that the only man who could lead armies, buttress the frontiers, carry out decisions and oversee the provinces is a man who has four main traits; namely, firmness with which to scrutinize things when the truth behind them is revealed, wisdom that restrains him from rashness and from taking risks without being certain of their results, courage that does not fail in times of repeated crises, and a generosity that regards as trivial the expenditure of great sums of money when they are called for. But if he were to have only three traits they ought to be: quick recompense for good deeds, harsh punishment against transgressors, and readiness for ominous events, for one is never certain of calamities. If there were to be only two traits, let them be: complete openness with subjects and fair judgement between the weak and the strong. If it were but a single trait, let that be: readiness for administering affairs, that [1677]
is, never postponing a day's work until the next day. What do you think of that? I have already chosen men from among my mawlās possessing these traits. Each of them is known for his strength of will and determination. Each among them does not become arrogant in good time nor befuddled at times of crises. He is never frightened by what comes up behind him nor by that which confronts him, for he is like a crawling insect at the root of a bitter tree—it endures attacks and bites to kill. He is always prepared and his vengeance is stiff. He meets an army with a heart stronger than iron although his company may be few. He seeks revenge and cannot be subdued by armies. He is courageous and relentlessly *(muqtaḍib al-anfās)*[256] endures hardships. He is never dissuaded from what he seeks, and there is no refuge for anyone escaping from him. He is ready of mind and highly esteemed. He is not self-indulgent nor is he incapacitated by turns of fortune. When he rules, he does so completely, and when he promises, he always fulfills his promises. In war he is a genuine hero, and when he threatens he lives up to his

256. That is, short of breath; as if to say he can hold his breath as a sign of endurance.

threats. His shadow is indeed protective of all those who seek it, and his courage distinguishes him in battle. He overcomes those who vie with him, vanquishes those who rise against him, and is superior to anyone competing with him. He energizes those who are faithful to him.

One of those present stood up and said:

God has gathered for you, O Commander of the Faithful, all the virtues of eloquence [*adab*] and He has singled you out with the legacy of prophecy. He handed you the reigns of wisdom and favored you with the gift of dignity. He has granted you excessive discernment and He has enlightened your heart with the most precious knowledge and the clearest mind. Eloquence definitely
[1678] flows from your heart. By God, your acumen, O Commander of the Faithful, is evident even to those who are not as gifted as you are with magnificent graces, immense generosity, praiseworthy virtues and nobility of character. Wisdom expresses itself in your speech. What you have perceived is the truth itself, and what you have comprehended is the right that has no blemish. By God, you, O Commander of the Faithful, are unique in character and the hero of your time. There is no description that does justice to your virtues and there are no adjectives that can delineate the particulars of the excellence of your nobility.

Following that, the Commander of the Faithful appointed his own supporters over the various districts, entrusting them completely with the fates of their enemies, and giving them the power of life and death over those who oppose them. When word reached Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh about the orders the Caliph issued regarding the districts, he composed the following letter (to the incumbents):

Indeed, whimsical error has led you astray from solid thinking, and thus entangled you in falsehood. If you had allowed the truth to rule you, you would have become discerning and would have been saved from ignorance and confusion. But now, if you lean towards peace, you will save yourselves and improve your lot. The Commander of the Faithful will forgive the crimes of the offenders amongst you, and he will single you out for the choicest benefits. But if you continue in your error and hope for

your worst deeds, then you invite God's war and that of His Prophet. All excuses made on your behalf will be disregarded, for you will be associated with the wrong cause. Moreover, when battles begin, the flame of war is set ablaze, and war must run its full course. Swords begin to dismember their protectors, [1679] lances begin to quench their thirst, combat is called for, and heroes lock in battle. War exposes its jaws and teeth and totally unmasks its face. The necks of horses become tangled, and people of courage charge against those of folly. You will indeed come to know at that time which of the two factions finds it easy to challenge death, and which is mightier in enduring battle. Excuses will not be allowed, nor will ransom be accepted. Those who warn (of this) will surely be forgiven, and soon the unjust will surely know what change of fortune they will experience.[257]

When Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's letter reached the Turks they wrote to him the following answer:

The embodiment of falsehood has revealed itself to you in the garb of truth. Thus folly appeared to you as wisdom, just like a mirage that appears as water to the thirsty but vanishes as one reaches it. And if you were to refocus the sharpness of your mind, it would enlighten you with rational proof and dispell the elements of suspicion. But you have strayed from the path of truth and swung back on account of your confusion, a confusion which has taken your full attention and obsessed you. You are just like one who has been enchanted by devils, perpetually wandering over the face of the earth. By your life, Muḥammad, your threats and admonishing have reached us, but they did not bring us any closer to you nor did they estrange us from you. For [1680] a close investigation has revealed your inner secrets and found you as if you were satisfied with the guidance of lightening—if it lights [in the sky] you would march, otherwise you would stay put. By your life, if your folly is to persist, and if you delve in the mist of hope, you will find yourself in total darkness, and we would come to you with troops, the likes of which you have never seen before. Be sure that you will come out of this totally

257. Qur. 26:227.

> humiliated and downtrodden. If we had not been waiting for the letter of the Commander of the Faithful concerning what we should do with the likes of you, we would have brought death with our whips,[258] piercing [flesh] even with our dull swords. We would have turned everything upside down and made [your dwellings] a refuge for ostriches, serpents and owls. We addressed you very clearly to make sure you heard us if you had any life in you. If you pay heed, you will be saved, but if you persist in your folly we will humiliate you, and you will soon be sorry.

On the first day of Rajab, 252 (July 18, 866), a battle took place between the Maghāribah and the Turks. For on that day the Maghāribah gathered under Muḥammad b. Rāshid and Naṣr b. Saʿīd. They overcame the Turks at the Jawsaq Palace and expelled them
[1681] saying, "Every day you kill one caliph, depose another and kill a wazīr." The Turks had previously attacked ʿĪsā b. Farrukhānshāh, had him beaten and took his pack animals. When the Maghāribah expelled the Turks from the Jawsaq Palace and overcame them at the treasury, they seized fifty mounts from them. The Turks then gathered and sent for their compatriots in al-Karkh and al-Dūr.[259] Following that, they encountered the Maghāribah and killed one of them; however, the Maghāribah succeeded in capturing the killer. The Shākiriyyah and the rabble now assisted them and they wore down the Turks who capitulated to the Maghāribah. A reconciliation between the two groups was arranged by Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. They both agreed that they would not initiate any further action, and wherever a man of one group was to be stationed, a man from the other was to be with him. They kept that arrangement for a while, but when the Turks heard that the Maghāribah were gathering to Muḥammad b. Rāshid and Naṣr b. Saʿīd, they gathered under the command of Bāyakbāk saying, "We seek only those two heads and no one will say anything if we succeed in getting them." The morning of that day on which the Turks intended to attack them, Muḥammad b. Rāshid and Naṣr b. Saʿīd had already met and were on

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258. *Balaghnā bi-l-siyāṭ al-niyāṭ*, to be understood with the sense of *bi-lā sawṭ wa-la nawṭ*, which is said of something done voluntarily "without [the threat of] a whip or hanging."

259. See n. 39, above.

their way home when they heard that Bāyakbāk had come to the residence of Ibn Rāshid. Muḥammad b. Rāshid and Naṣr b. Sa'īd then changed course and went, instead, to the residence of Muḥammad b. 'Azzūn, where they intended to wait until the Turks calmed down. Following that, they would go back to their troops. A man betrayed them to Bāyakbāk and guided him to them. It was said that Ibn 'Azzūn sent the man who guided Bāyakbāk and the Turks to them. [1682]
The Turks seized them and then killed them. When al-Mu'tazz heard about that he wanted to kill Ibn 'Azzūn. But words were spoken on his behalf, and the Caliph exiled him to Baghdad.

In that year, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Khalaf al-'Aṭṭār was carried off from Baghdad to Sāmarrā together with a group of Ṭālibids, including Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Ḥasan b. Ja'far b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Abū Hāshim Dāwūd b. al-Qāsim al-Ja'farī. That took place on the eighth of Sha'bān, 252 (August 24, 866).

The Reason For Their Being Carried Off

The reason was reportedly as follows. A Ṭālibid man came up with a group of regular troops and Shākiriyyah from Baghdad to the Kūfah district. Al-Kūfah and its environs were then in the charge of Abū al-Sāj, who was in Baghdad negotiating with Ibn Ṭāhir about his departure to al-Rayy.[260] When Ibn Ṭāhir learned of the Ṭālibid coming from Baghdad to the Kūfah district, he ordered Abū al-Sāj to return to his post in al-Kūfah. Abū al-Sāj, on the other hand, sent his deputy 'Abd al-Raḥmān ahead to al-Kūfah while he met with Abū Hāshim al-Ja'farī and a group of Ṭālibids in Baghdad. They spoke to him concerning the Ṭālibid who was going to al-Kūfah. Abū al-Sāj then responded, "Tell him to stay away from me, and I won't be looking for him." But when 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Abū al-Sāj's deputy, reached al-Kūfah and entered the city, he was pelted with stones all [1683]
the way until he reached the mosque, for people thought that he had come to fight the 'Alid. When he explained to them (that he was) not intending to (and that he was) simply a man sent to fight the bedouins, they left him alone, and he took up his position at al-Kūfah.

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260. See above, pp. 1656–1657 of the Leiden edition, concerning the appointment of Abū al-Sāj over the lands irrigated by the Euphrates.

This Abū Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar, the Ṭālibid whom I mentioned among those Ṭālibids carried off to Sāmarrā, had been appointed by al-Muʿtazz over al-Kūfah. This was after Muzāḥim b. Khāqān defeated the ʿAlid whom he was sent there to fight. All this is mentioned above in the appropriate place. This Abū Aḥmad reportedly devastated the regions around al-Kūfah, causing harm to people while seizing their possessions and estates. When Abū al-Sāj's deputy positioned himself in al-Kūfah, he treated Abū Aḥmad, the ʿAlid, gently and gained his confidence. Having befriended each other, they shared food and drink. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān then strolled with him in one of the gardens of al-Kūfah, after alerting his companions (of his secret intentions). He put the ʿAlid in shackles, and at night he carried him off in chains on the government service mules *(bighāl al-dukhūl)*.[261] He brought him to Baghdad on the first day of Rabīʿ II (April 21, 866). When he reached Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the latter imprisoned Abū Aḥmad at his palace. Later, he took a surety from him and set him free. Letters from al-Ḥasan b. Zayd were found in the possession of one of the nephews of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Khalaf al-ʿAṭṭār, and when the news about this reached al-Muʿtazz, he sent word ordering him to be sent off with ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb. These Ṭālibids were all transported together with fifty horsemen, including this Abū Aḥmad, Abū Hāshim al-Jaʿfarī, and ʿAlī b. ʿUbaydallāh
[1684] b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

People talked about ʿAlī b. ʿUbaydallāh, saying that he had asked for permission to go to his residence in Sāmarrā and that it had been granted to him. It was also said that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh granted him one thousand dirhams, simply because he complained to him of his difficult straits. As for Abū Hāshim, he bid farewell to his family. It was said that he was carried away because Ibn al-Kurdiyyah and ʿAbdallāh b. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā had told al-Muʿtazz, "If you write to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh asking him to send away Dāwūd b. al-Qāsim, he would not do so. Write to him that you wish to dispatch Dāwūd to Ṭabaristān to set its affairs in order. Once he comes to you, you can do with him as you see fit." He was carried away as a result, and no harm ever befell him.

261. The text literally means "mules of the intimate service" and may be a reference to their status in having access to the caliphal complex. For such provisions of security, see Lassner, *Shaping*, 184f.

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Shawārib was appointed as chief judge. Regarding the other legal appointments Muḥammad b. ʿImrān al-Ḍabbī, al-Muʿtazz's teacher, had nominated on the latter's behalf eight men, including al-Khalanjī and al-Khaṣṣāf. He had already written their letters of appointment, but Shafīʿ al-Khādim, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Kurdiyyah, and ʿAbd al-Samīʿ b. Hārūn b. Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar stopped him, saying, "These men are followers of Ibn Abī Du'ād[262] and are among the Rāfiḍites, Qadarites, Zaydites or Jahmites."[263] Al-Muʿtazz then ordered that they be expelled and exiled to Baghdad. The populace then attacked al-Khaṣṣāf, and the others fled to Baghdad on their own. Al-Ḍabbī was discharged from all his duties except for the court of appeals (*maẓālim*).

The estimated payments required by the Turks, the Maghāribah and the Shākiriyyah for this year reportedly reached two hundred million dīnārs, which was equal to two years of taxes (*kharāj*) collected for the entire realm. [1685]

In this year, Abū al-Sāj was sent to the Mecca Road. The reason for that was said to have been as follows. When Waṣīf was restored to his rank, he was given the signet of al-Muʿtazz. He then wrote to Abū al-Sāj ordering him to go out to the Mecca Road and repair it. He also sent him the needed funds. Abū al-Sāj had begun preparations when Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh wrote asking that he be put in charge of the Mecca Road. This request was approved, and Abū al-Sāj was sent on the latter's behalf.

On the first of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (December 13, 866), ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh b. al-Salīl was appointed governor of al-Ramlah, whereupon he sent his deputy Abū al-Maghrā' to the city. It was also said that he payed Bughā forty thousand dīnārs for the position, or that he guaranteed that sum to him.[264]

In this year, Waṣīf wrote to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf, appointing him over al-Jabal. He also sent him the cloaks signifying his ap-

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262. That is, Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād, a famous Muʿtazilite *qāḍī* under al-Ma'mūn. See *EI²*, I, 271, and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, I, 81–91.

263. For these sects, see Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, and Shahrastānī, *Milal*. The reference here is that they are all followers of unorthodox sects, and thus would be dangerous if appointed to official positions. It is also a reflection on al-Ḍabbī himself.

264. The text is *ḍamanaha*, that is, "he vouched" that he would pay that specific sum for it.

pointment, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ruled on his behalf.

In Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 252 (November 13–December 17, 866), one of Ayyūb b. Aḥmad's lieutenants killed Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Shārī in Diyār Rabīʿah.

In this year, Kanjūr fell from favor and was imprisoned at the Jawsaq Palace. Later, he was carried away to Baghdad in chains. Finally, he was sent to al-Yamāmah where he was imprisoned.

[1686] In (this year), Ibn Justān, the leader of the Daylamites, raided al-Rayy together with Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-ʿAlawī and al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kawkabī. They killed many people and took others as prisoners. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was in the city at the time of their attack, but he managed to flee. The people of al-Rayy made peace with them by paying two million dirhams. When Ibn Justān departed from the city, Ibn ʿAzīz returned and captured Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, whom he sent off to Naysābūr.

Also in this year, Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf the Ṭālibid, who did what he did in Mecca, died.

Leading the pilgrimage this year on behalf of al-Muʿtazz was Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. al-Manṣūr.

The Events of the Year

253

(January 11, 867–December 31, 867)

Among these events, al-Mu'tazz appointed Mūsā b. Bughā the Elder governor of al-Jabal on the fourth day of Rajab (July 10, 867). At the time Bughā had an army of Turks and equivalent troops that amounted to 2,443 men. Mufliḥ commanded 1,530 of them.

In this year, on the twenty-second of Rajab (July 28, 867), Mufliḥ, who commanded the vanguard of Mūsā b. Bughā's army, attacked 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Dulaf, who led a force consisting of some [1687] twenty thousand vagabonds and others. The battle between them was said to have taken place about one *mīl* (two km)[265] outside Hamadhān. Mufliḥ succeeded in pushing 'Abd al-'Azīz back for some three *farsakhs* (eighteen km), killing some of the latter's men and taking others captive. Mufliḥ and his men returned unharmed; he dispatched the news of this victory that very day. During the month of Ramaḍān (September 4–October 3, 867), Mufliḥ arrayed his cavalry against al-Karaj[266] where he set up two ambushes. 'Abd al-'Azīz, on his part, sent an army of four thousand men, whereupon Mufliḥ engaged them in combat. Mufliḥ's ambushers attacked 'Abd al-'Azīz's men, and the latter fled. Mufliḥ's men put them to the

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265. One *mīl* is about two kilometers. See Hinz, *Masse*, 63.

266. In the area of Jibāl, western modern Iran. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 197–8, where it is simply identified as Karaj Abū Dulaf.

sword, killing and taking prisoners from among them. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who came to the aid of his followers, fled along with them. He then left al-Karaj and went to one of his fortresses nearby, called Diz, where he fortified himself. As for Mufliḥ, he went into al-Karaj and took a group from the family of Abū Dulaf as prisoners. He also seized some of their womenfolk, including, it is said, the mother of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and had them bound. Mufliḥ reportedly sent seventy loads of heads to Sāmarrā and a great number of banners.

In this year, Mūsā b. Bughā left Sāmarrā for Hamadhān and set up camp there.

Also in this year, al-Muʿtazz bestowed cloaks of honor upon Bughā al-Sharābī and dressed him with a crown and two sashes. He wore the sashes from the time he left (the Caliph's chambers) until he reached his residence.

On the twenty-sixth of Shawwāl, 253 (October 29, 867), Waṣīf the Turk was killed. The reason for his death was reportedly as follows. The Turks, the Farāghinah and Ushrūsanis rioted, demanding four months of their allotments. Meeting them were Bughā, Waṣīf, Sīma
[1688] al-Sharābī and about a hundred of their followers. Waṣīf addressed them saying, "What do you want?" They responded, "Our allotments." He then said, "Take dust. Do we have any money?" Bughā said, "Yes. Let's ask the Commander of the Faithful about this and then negotiate in the residence of Ashnās. But let those who do not belong to your group depart." Then they went into the residence of Ashnās, and Sīma al-Sharābī left for Sāmarrā. After that, he was followed by Bughā, in order to secure the Caliph's permission concerning their pay. Waṣīf was left to their mercy, and one of them attacked him twice with a sword while another stabbed him with a knife. Nūsharā b. Ṭājibak, who was one of his officers, then carried Waṣīf to his residence. When Bughā was late in returning, they thought that the Turks were mobilizing against them. Therefore they brought Waṣīf out of Nūsharā's residence and hit him with axes until they broke his arms and decapitated him. Then they placed his head on top of a stick which was used to stir bread ovens. The common people of Sāmarrā rushed to loot the residence of Waṣīf and those of his sons, but the sons had already returned to defend their houses. Following this episode, al-Muʿtazz entrusted Bughā al-Sharābī with all of Waṣīf's duties.

On the day of the Fiṭr (Feast) this year (October 4, 867), Bundār al-Ṭabarī was killed.

The Reason For His Death

The circumstances were as follows. A Khārijite *(muḥakkim)* known as Musāwir b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd rebelled *(ḥakkama)* in al-Bawāzīj[267] during the month of Rajab, 253 (July 7–August 5, 876). Al-Muʿtazz dispatched Sātikīn against him during the month of Ramaḍān (September 4–October 3, 867). The rebel then headed towards the Khurāsān Road, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh was dispatched against him. The latter had entrusted the Khurāsān Road to the armed men of Bundār and Muẓaffar b. Saysal. When they reached the Daskarat al-Malik[268] they took up positions. Bundār reportedly went out to hunt on the last day of Ramaḍān (October 3, 867). He went far in search of his prey, indeed, he passed about a *farsakh* (six km) beyond the houses of al-Daskarah. While preoccupied with this, he saw two banners being carried by a group of people on their way to the city. He therefore sent some of his men to find out about the banners. They were told by the leader of the group that he was the governor of Karkh Juddān,[269] and that he had heard of a man by the name of Musāwir b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, one of the dihqāns of al-Bawāzīj; the latter had risen in rebellion and the governor had received word that Musāwir was on his way to Karkh Juddān. Upon hearing that, the governor fled to al-Daskarah to take solace near Bundār and Muẓaffar. Bundār immediately went to Muẓaffar and told him, "The rebel is on his way to Karkh Juddān and will be seeking us next. Let's go after him first." Al-Muẓaffar retorted, "It's evening and we wish to pray the Friday prayer. Moreover, tomorrow is the holiday *(ʿīd)*. Once the Fiṭr is over, we will go after him." Bundār refused (to wait) and set out immediately, hoping to defeat the rebel by himself without Muẓaffar. As for Muẓaffar, he remained at al- [1689]

267. In the eastern part of the Jazīrah area. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 91.

268. The next station on the Khurāsān Road after Nahrawān, northeast of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 62.

269. Close to the border between Iraq and Iran. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 449.

Daskarah. The city itself was eight *farsakhs* (forty-eight km) from Tell ʿUkbarāʾ[270] and the distance between ʿUkbarāʾ and the battle-
[1690] field was four *farsakhs* (twenty-four km).

Bundār set out to Tell ʿUkbarāʾ, reaching it at dusk on the eve of the Fiṭr (October 3, 867). He fed his animals, and following that he rode off until he overlooked the rebel camp. This was during the night while the people were praying and reading the Qurʾān. Some of his followers and associates suggested that he let them sleep without knowing of his presence. But he refused, saying, "Not until I face them and they face me." He then sent out two or three horsemen to bring back information. When they came close to the rebel camp, the latter gave warning, and cried out, "To arms!" Then they mounted their horses and stood for battle waiting for morning, when the battle was waged. Bundār's men were unable to shoot a single arrow, although they were (a force of) about three hundred cavalry and infantry. He therefore arrayed them in a formation consisting of right and left flanks and a rear, while he himself was positioned in the center. Musāwir and his followers charged them, but Bundār and his followers stood firm. The rebel then moved away from their camp and their night shelter, in order to entice Bundār and his followers into looting. But Bundār and his followers stayed away from the camp. Following that, the rebels counterattacked with swords and lances; there were about seven hundred of them. Neither party gave way. The rebels resorted to swords and disregarded lances, thus losing some fifty of their men. A similar number of Bundār's men were killed. Then, in one charge, the rebels managed to isolate about a hundred of Bundār's followers. The latter gave battle for a while, but soon all of them were killed. Bundār and his men retreated and the rebels isolated groups of them, one group after another, and then killed them. Bundār continued to flee and was persistently sought. The rebels caught up with him near Tell ʿUkbarāʾ, about four *farsakhs* (twenty-four km) from the battlefield. They killed him and fixed his severed head (to a pole). Only about
[1691] fifty men, some say a hundred, of Bundār's followers managed to escape by wandering away from the battlefield at a time when the Khārijites were occupied in cutting them in groups. News of Bundār

270. See n. 90, above.

reached Muẓaffar—he was still in al-Daskarah. He therefore pulled out from the city and drew closer to Baghdad.

The news of Bundār's death reached Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh the day after the Fiṭr. It was said that he did not drink or amuse himself, as he used to do, for he was struck with grief on account of the news of Bundār's death. Musāwir went immediately to Ḥulwān, where he was met by the populace who fought him. He killed some four hundred persons while they killed a group of the rebel's followers. Moreover, a group of pilgrims from Khurāsān who were in the city were also killed; they had supported the people of Ḥulwān. Following that, the pilgrims departed.

During the night of the fourteenth of Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 253 (November 15, 867), there was an eclipse of the moon that was either total or almost so.[271] Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir reportedly died by the end of the eclipse, having succumbed to ulcers that appeared on his head and throat. The ulcers on his head and throat were reportedly big enough for wicks to be inserted into them. When he died his brother ʿUbaydallāh and his son Ṭāhir vied with one another for who would pray over him. His son finally said the prayers; it was said that this was Ibn Ṭāhir's wish. Later, a dispute arose between ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh, the brother of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, and the latter's household retinue. It reached the point of their drawing swords against him, and he was pelted with stones. The rabble, the common people, and the mawlās of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm sided with Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir and shouted, "Victory to Ṭāhir [*Ṭāhir yā manṣūr*]!" As for ʿUbaydallāh, he crossed over to his [1692]
residence on the East Side. The commanders sided with him, for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh had deputized ʿUbaydallāh in his will. ʿUbaydallāh was to take over (Muḥammad's) functions. Muḥammad had also written of this to his governors. Following that, al-Muʿtazz sent ʿUbaydallāh robes of honor and the document signifying him to be the governor of Baghdad. The latter was said to have ordered that fifty thousand dirhams be given to the person who brought the robes on behalf of al-Muʿtazz.

The following is a copy of the letter of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh to

271. This eclipse did indeed take place. See Oppolzer, *Canon*, No. 3206, Julian Day 2038048.

his governors, in which he deputized his brother 'Ubaydallāh to succeed him:

> Now, God has decreed death for those of his creatures who still live, as it was for those who are gone. Anyone who has been granted some of God's grace should prepare himself at all times to meet the unavoidable and the inescapable. I write now while I am afflicted by a terrible illness that causes despair to almost overshadow hope. If God were to cure me, it would be because of His might and His usual benevolence. But if I were to be struck with the same fate as those dead and alive, I would deputize 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh, the mawlā of the Commander of the Faithful, my brother, and the one trusted to follow my example and to execute what I am entrusted with by the Commander of the Faithful until he receives his orders to act accordingly. You shall obey the commands dispatched to you by 'Ubaydallāh, if God so wills it. Written on Thursday the thirteenth of Dhū al-Qa'dah (November 14, 867).

[1693] In this year, al-Mu'tazz exiled Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil to Wāsiṭ and then to al-Baṣrah. Later, he was brought to Baghdad and made to reside on the East Side in the palace of Dīnār b. 'Abdallāh.[272]

In this year, 'Alī b. al-Mu'taṣim was also expelled to Wāsiṭ and later brought to Baghdad.

Also in this year, Muzāḥim b. Khāqān died in Egypt during the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (December 2–31, 867).

Leading the pilgrimage this year was 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Zaynabī.

In this year, the Muslims raided in the district of Malaṭiyah, under the command of Muḥammad b. Mu'ādh. They were, however, routed, and Muḥammad b. Mu'ādh was taken prisoner. This took place in Dhū al-Qa'dah (November 2–December 1, 867).

In this year, Mūsā b. Bughā met the Ṭālibid al-Kawkabī in battle, one *farsakh* (six km) from Qazwīn. This was on Monday the last day of Dhū al-Qa'dah (December 1, 867). Mūsā routed al-Kawkabī, who

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272. For more information on Dīnār b. 'Abdallāh, see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 223, and *FHA*, 357, 445, 456. The exact location of his residence in East Baghdad can not be determined any further.

then linked up with the Daylamites. Mūsā b. Bughā then entered Qazwīn.

I was told the following by those who witnessed the battle. The Daylamites who were with al-Kawkabī stood in rows when they met Mūsā and his followers, and they held their shields in front of them to avert the arrows of Mūsā's men. When Mūsā saw that the arrows of his men were ineffective, he ordered that all the oil that he had be poured on the ground on his side of the battlefield. Then he ordered his men to retreat, pretending that they were defeated, which they did. When al-Kawkabī and his followers thought that Mūsā's men had been routed they took after them. When Mūsā learned that al-Kawkabī's followers had reached the middle of the oil, he called for torches and a fire was subsequently lit. The flames [1694] took to the oil and reached the ground under al-Kawkabī's men where it incinerated some; the others fled. It was at that point that they were defeated, and Mūsā entered Qazwīn.

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah of this year (December 2–31, 867), Khuṭārmish met Musāwir the Khārijite in battle in the district of Jalūlā'. He was defeated by Musāwir.

The Events of the Year 254

(JANUARY 1–DECEMBER 19, 868)

Among those events was the killing of Bughā al-Sharābī.

The Circumstances Leading to His Death

The circumstances were reportedly as follows. Bughā al-Sharābī used to urge al-Mu'tazz to go to Baghdad, but the latter would refuse him that. One day, when Bughā was occupied with the wedding of his daughter Jum'ah to Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf—they were married in the middle of Dhū al-Qa'dah (November 5, 868)—al-Mu'tazz rode off at night together with Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl to Karkh Sāmarrā. They were seeking Bāyakbāk and his men because he was estranged from Bughā. The cause of this estrangement was that one day, while they were sharing a drink, the two quarreled and parted ways. As a result, Bāyakbāk was fleeing from, Bughā and hiding from him. Now when
[1695] al-Mu'tazz and his company reached al-Karkh the people of al-Karkh and al-Dūr gathered around Bāyakbāk and proceeded with al-Mu'tazz to the Jawsaq Palace in Sāmarrā. When the news reached Bughā he set out with his pages, who were around five hundred men, and a similar number drawn from his sons, his followers and his officers. He proceeded until reaching the river Nayzak. Later on, he

shifted to other places before arriving at al-Sinn.[273] He carried with him coins—nineteen pouches of dīnārs, and one hundred pouches of dirhams. He had taken the money from his own treasury and that of the government, and he had barely spent any of it when he was killed.

When Bughā heard that al-Muʿtazz had come to al-Karkh with Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl, he reportedly marched with those commanders closest to him to Tell ʿUkbarāʾ, and from there he went to al-Sinn. His men began to complain to one another about the hardship that they were facing, for they had not moved out with tents nor with anything to keep them warm from the winter cold. While Bughā was in a small tent that he had pitched for himself by the Tigris, Sātikīn came to him and said, "May God favor the amīr. The people in camp have already discussed such and such a thing and I am their messenger to you." Bughā then asked, "Do they all say what you say?" He answered, "Yes. If you wish, send for them; they will speak as I do." To this Bughā responded, "Let me look into this tonight; I'll send word out to you in the morning." In the darkness of the night, he called for a skiff and sailed away with two of his servants, taking along some of the money. But he took no weapons, not even a knife nor a club. Nor did he inform the people at his camp of this. From [1696]
the time of Bughā's absence, al-Muʿtazz slept in his clothes, fully armed. Moreover, he would drink no wine, and he entrusted all of his maids to one man. Bughā reached the bridge in the first third of the night. As the skiff drew near, the men in charge (of the bridge) sent someone to look into the skiff, but the young man turned back as Bughā yelled at him. Bughā escaped into the garden of the Khāqānī[274] Palace. Having been followed by a group of them, he halted for them and said, "I am Bughā." Walīd al-Maghribī, who had followed him, then replied, "What's the matter with you? I am at your service." Bughā replied, "Take me to the residence of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf or accompany me to my house so that I can reward you." Al-Walīd al-Maghribī put him in someone's care and galloped off to the Jawsaq Palace, where he sought an audience with al-Muʿtazz. When

273. He seems to have gone in the direction of Jazīrah, for Sinn was on the postal route from Baghdad to Mosul on the eastern bank of the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 125, 90, 91, 133, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 268–9.

274. For more information, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 175; Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 258; and n. 21, above.

it was granted, he said, "My Lord, I have captured Bughā and put someone in charge of him." To which the Caliph exclaimed, "Woe unto you if you don't bring me his head." Walīd then returned to those in charge of him and said, "Stand aside, so I can deliver the dispatch to him." When they moved away, he struck him a blow on the forehead, and then the head. Then he went on to his hands, cutting them off. He kept striking Bughā until he felled him and then killed him. He carried Bughā's severed head in the folds of his garment and brought it to al-Muʿtazz, who granted him ten thousand dīnārs and a robe of honor. The head was hung first in Sāmarrā, then in Baghdad. The Maghāribah, pounced on his corpse and put the torch to it. As for al-Muʿtazz, he sent immediately for Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl, al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, and Abū Nūḥ. He invited them into his presence and then told them the news. In Baghdad, ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir pursued Bughā's sons one after another. They had fled to the city with some people they had trusted, and were now hiding at their
[1697] homes. Fifteen of his children and followers were reportedly imprisoned in the Gold Palace, and ten at the Maṭbaq Prison.[275]

It was also said that when Bughā went to Sāmarrā on the evening he was seized, he consulted his companions about his trip. He indicated that he would go to the residence of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, and at the approach of the holiday *(ʿīd)*, the troops would enter (the city) while he and Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf and his men would march against the Maghāribah and al-Muʿtazz.

In this year, Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf appointed Dīwdād governor of Diyār Muḍar, Qinnasrīn and the ʿAwāṣim.[276] This took place in Rabīʿ I (February 29–March 29, 868).

In (this year) Bāyakbāk appointed Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn over Egypt.

In Rabīʿ I, 254 (February 29–March 29, 868), Mufliḥ and Bajūr at-

275. For Maṭbaq Prison, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 27 who locates it in the southern part of the Round City at the intersection of the roads leading to the Baṣrah and the Kūfah Gates respectively. Qaṣr al-Dhahab (Gold Palace) was in the center of the Round City, ibid., 31, and Lassner, *Topography*.

276. In northern Syria, west of Aleppo, with Antioch as the capital city for most of the time. See Le Strange, *Palestine*, 36–37. See also Aboulfeda, *Géographie*, 233. According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 165, the name is derived from the singular *ʿāṣim*, meaning "an obstruction," because it was applied to a series of fortresses in this area bordering Byzantium and were thus like obstructions to the enemy. The exact extent of the area called *ʿawāṣim* varied.

tacked the people of Qumm[277] killing a great number of them.

On Monday, the twenty-fifth of Jumādā II (June 21, 868), 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā died. Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil prayed over him in the quarter named after Abū Aḥmad,[278] and he was buried in his own residence.

In Jumādā II (May 28–June 25, 868), Dulaf b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Dulaf arrived at al-Ahwāz because his father 'Abd al-'Azīz had sent word for him to go there and to Jundī Sābūr and Tustar.[279] Dulaf collected two hundred thousand dīnārs in taxes at these places and then departed.

During the month of Ramaḍān, 254 (August 24–September 22, 868), Nūsharā marched against Musāwir the rebel. Upon encountering Musāwir he routed him, killing a great number of his followers.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl b. [1698]
al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad.

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277. That is, in northwest Iran. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 209, 210, 227, 229.

278. For this quarter of Sāmarrā, see Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 260, 261.

279. Jundī Sāpūr was a pre-Islamic city in western Iran, known for its hospital and for its intellectual life. Most of the physicians of the early 'Abbasid caliphs, like the Bakhtīshū' family, came from this city. See Schoffler, *Akademie*. For its location, as well as that of Tūstar, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 233, 238, 247 and 233–236.

The Events of the Year 255

(DECEMBER 20, 868–DECEMBER 8, 869)

Among the events taking place were Mufliḥ's entry into Ṭabaristān and the battle that he fought with al-Ḥasan b. Zayd the Ṭālibid. In this battle Mufliḥ defeated al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, who then linked up with the Daylamites. Following that, Mufliḥ entered Āmul and burned the residences of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. Having done that, he set out for al-Daylam in pursuit of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd.

In this year, Ya'qūb b. al-Layth fought a battle with Ṭawq b. al-Mughallis outside Kirmān. In this battle Ya'qūb took Ṭawq prisoner. The circumstances of that event were reportedly as follows. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh b. Shibl wrote to the central authorities asking for the governorship of Kirmān. He had previously served as governor for the Ṭāhirids. He wrote complaining about the weakness of the Ṭāhirids and how little control they exercised over the regions that they were responsible for. Moreover, he mentioned that Ya'qūb b. al-Layth had taken over Sijistān from them, and that he had been lax in sending the tax revenues of Fars to the central authorities. The authorities wrote back, appointing him over Kirmān, but they also wrote to Ya'qūb giving him the same appointment, thus hoping to incite one against the other. Should this have come to pass, the central authorities would only have to supply the victo-
[1699] rious of the two, thereby saving the share of the other. For both were

at war with the authorities, and none displayed any obedience. When they did that to the two of them, Ya'qūb b. al-Layth marched from Sijistān seeking Kirmān. But as soon as 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn received word that Ya'qūb was marching with a large army from Fārs to Kirmān, he dispatched Ṭawq b. al-Mughallis who managed to reach Kirmān before Ya'qūb. Ṭawq entered the city as Ya'qūb approached from Sijistān, one day's journey from Kirmān.

I was told by those who witnessed what went on between the two that Ya'qūb remained in the position that he had established for himself, about a day's journey from Kirmān. He stayed there for about a month or two, spying on Ṭawq, and interrogating anyone who came out of Kirmān towards him. Also, he would not let any- [1700]
one going to Kirmān pass through his army in this sector. But neither he nor Ṭawq would march against one another. After some time, Ya'qūb gave indications that he left his camp to journey in the direction of Sijistān. He had, in fact, put a day's journey between himself and the camp. When word of his journey reached Ṭawq, he thought that it had become evident to Ya'qūb what it would cost to fight him, and that Ya'qūb had thus conceded Kirmān to him and to 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. He then put aside the implements of war and started drinking while calling for entertainment. Through all this, Ya'qūb continuously sought information about him. When he learned that Ṭawq had put away the implements of war and had started to drink and entertain himself at his alleged departure, he swung back covering two day's journey in one. As Ṭawq was still drinking and playing about, he only noticed towards the end of daylight that a cloud of dust had risen outside the city of Kirmān in which he was staying. He asked the villagers, "What is this cloud of dust?" He was told, "It is the dust of the villager's cattle returning to their owners." But very soon after that *(lam yakun illa kalā walā)* Ya'qūb and his men arrived and surrounded him and his followers. When surrounded, Ṭawq's followers thought of protecting their lives. Ya'qūb then ordered his men, "Make room for them." This they did; whereupon, Ṭawq's men fled before them, leaving behind in their camp all that they had with them. Ya'qūb then took Ṭawq as prisoner.

Ibn Ḥammād al-Barbarī (reported that) when 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn dispatched Ṭawq, he sent him off with several coffers. Some of them [1701]

contained necklaces and bracelets of honor to be granted to those men who fought valiantly at his side; some contained money to be dispensed as rewards to those of his men who were deserving, while still others contained chains and shackles to bind those men of Yaʿqūb who would be seized. When Yaʿqūb took Ṭawq prisoner along with the army commanders accompanying him, he ordered that everything belonging to Ṭawq and his men was to be confiscated. This included money, household items, animals and weapons. All this was confiscated and assembled before him; the coffers that were brought remained locked. Yaʿqūb ordered that some of them be opened, and when it was done, he discovered the chains and shackles. He then addressed Ṭawq, "O Ṭawq! What about these chains and shackles?" He replied, "ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn had given them to me for binding the prisoners." Yaʿqūb then ordered one of his men, "Hey you, see which is the biggest and the heaviest of them, place it on Ṭawq's feet and lock it." He did the same to the prisoners he had taken from among Ṭawq's men.

Following that, he called for the other coffers. They were opened, and he discovered the necklaces and bracelets. He then asked Ṭawq, "O Ṭawq! And what is that?" He replied, "They were given to me to decorate those of my men who fought valiantly." Yaʿqūb then or-
[1702] dered one of his men, "Hey you, take from that one such a necklace and such a bracelet and give them to so and so." He began to decorate his own followers, and he did the same with the other coffers.

When Yaʿqūb ordered Ṭawq to extend his hand so that he could shackle him, he discovered a bandage on his forearm; whereupon he asked, "What is that, O Ṭawq?" He replied, "May God favor the amīr, I had felt some fever, and had it bled." Yaʿqūb then summoned one of his men and ordered him to slip off his boots. When he did, dried crumbs of bread fell out. He then said to Ṭawq, "I have not taken these boots off for two months. I carry the bread which I eat in them and have not slept on a bed. And you sit and drink and act frivolously in this way, hoping for a battle in which to fight me?" When Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth finished with Ṭawq, he entered Kirmān, taking possession of the region. Along with Sijistān it became one of his provinces.

In this year, Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth entered Fārs and took ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh prisoner.

Why and How He Captured Him

Ibn Ḥammād al-Barbarī (reported the following). At that time I was in Fārs with 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh. Word reached him about the battle between Ya'qūb b. al-Layth and his ('Alī's) follower Ṭawq b. al-Mughallis and how Ya'qūb had entered Kirmān and annexed the region. When the defeated army reached him, he was certain [1703] that Ya'qūb would be coming to Fārs. 'Alī himself was at that time in Shīrāz in the province of Fārs. He mobilized his army as well as the infantry of Ṭawq's defeated army among others. After arming them he emerged from Shīrāz to a narrow reservoir *(kurr)*[280] outside the city. The open area between the reservoir, which is contiguous to the city, and the opposite mountain was wide enough for only one man or one animal. Its narrowness did not allow more than one man to pass at a time. He then established a position there and set up camp on the bank of the reservoir close to Shīrāz. He brought along the market people and merchants of Shīrāz to his camp saying, "If Ya'qūb comes he will find no way to reach us through the desert; for he has no avenue of approach except this open area between the mountain and the reservoir, and it is wide enough for only one man. Were but a single man positioned there, he would be able to prevent anyone from passing through. And if he is unable to pass through to us, he will be left out in the open plain where there is no food for him and his men, nor will he find fodder for their animals."

Ibn Ḥammād (continued). Ya'qūb proceeded until he approached the reservoir. On the first day, he ordered his followers to set up camp about a *mīl*[281] from the reservoir on the Kirmān side. Then he proceeded alone, carrying a ten-cubit lance *(rumḥ 'ushārī)*. I can still picture him proceeding alone on his mount accompanied by only a [1704] single man. He examined the reservoir, the mountain and the road. Drawing close to the reservoir, he examined the camp of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn as well. 'Alī's followers started cursing him saying, "We will send you back to the people of copper caldrons and boilers, you copper worker."[282] He remained silent, offering no response.

280. The translation of *kurr* as a reservoir follows Firūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, II, 130, where it is identified as a water well. The sense of a water reservoir is the only one that makes sense of this difficult passage.

281. See n. 265.

282. *Ṣaffār* is a reference to the fact that Ya'qūb b. al-Layth was a founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty that ruled for centuries over a large part of Persia, centered around

After examining what he had come to see, he returned to his men. When it was noon of the following day he came forward with his companions and men until they reached the bank of the reservoir which is on the Kirmān side. He then issued orders for his men to dismount and remove their baggage. He then opened a chest that he had brought along.

Ibn Ḥammād (continued). I can still picture them. They let loose a wolfhound and then mounted their steeds bareback, holding lances in hand. Before that ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn had arrayed his troops in battle formation and arranged them in rows to guard the passage between the mountain and the reservoir, seeing that there was no other way for Yaʿqūb to cross through. They brought the dog and threw it into the reservoir while he and ʿAlī's followers watched and laughed. When they threw the dog in the reservoir, the dog started to swim to the side where ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn's camp was situated. Yaʿqūb's men then urged their animals to follow behind the dog. Carrying their lances in their hands, they started across after the dog.[283]

When ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn saw that Yaʿqūb had already crossed most of the reservoir, and was coming towards him and his men, he be-
[1705] came confused and failed to devise another plan. Yaʿqūb's men soon came out of the reservoir in pursuit of ʿAī b. al-Ḥusayn's followers. As soon as the lead troops came out (of the water), ʿAlī's men fled seeking the city of Shīrāz. For, once the army of Yaʿqūb came out of the water, they would be trapped between the army and the reservoir and would find no refuge if they were routed. After Yaʿqūb's troops came out of the reservoir, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn fled along with his men, but his mount stumbled and threw him to the ground. One of the Sijistānīs encountered ʿAlī, intending to strike him with his sword, when one of his servants called out, "The amīr." The Sijistānī dismounted and wrapped his scarf around ʿAlī's neck, and then he dragged him to Yaʿqūb. When he came with him to Yaʿqūb, the latter gave orders that ʿAlī be bound and that all the implements of war that were in ʿAlī's camp, including, among other things, the weapons and animals, be brought to him. He held his position well

Sistān. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 104. Yaʿqūb himself gave this name to the dynasty because he traded as a coppersmith.

283. The text seems to imply that the dog's swimming encouraged the animals to swim after it, hence allowing main divisions of the army to cross over, and not come out one at a time.

into the night and then marched from that place. Ya'qūb entered the city of Shīrāz at night as his men beat the drums. No one in the city moved (to oppose him). When he greeted the morning, he allowed his followers to loot the residences of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and his followers. After that, he looked at everything that had been gathered at the treasury, including the tax and estate revenues. He confiscated it, and levied a tax (of his own), which he collected. Ya'qūb then left for Sijistān, taking along with him Ibn Quraysh and those of his commanders that were taken prisoner.

In this year, Ya'qūb b. al-Layth sent to al-Mu'tazz several steeds, [1706] hawks, some musk and various garments as presents.

In this year, Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir was appointed Chief of Security in Baghdad and the Sawād. This took place on the sixth of Rabī' II (March 24, 869). Having come from Khurāsān, he reportedly arrived at Sāmarrā on Thursday, the eighth of Rabī' I (February 24, 869), went straight to al-Ītākhiyyah,[284] and presented himself for an audience with al-Mu'tazz on Saturday. Al-Mu'tazz bestowed robes of honor upon him and Sulaymān then departed.

In this year, 255 (869), a battle took place between Musāwir, the rebel, and Yārjūkh. The rebel routed Yārjūkh, who then fled to Sāmarrā.

Al-Mu'allā b. Ayyūb died during the month of Rabī' II, 255 (March 19–April 16, 869).

In this year, Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf seized Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl, al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, and Abū Nūḥ 'Īsā b. Ibrāhīm. He put them in chains and demanded money for them. The reason for that was reportedly as follows. These secretaries had gathered to drink on Wednesday, the second of Jumādā II, 255 (May 18, 869). On Thursday morning, Ibn Isrā'īl rode off at the head of a large contingent to the Public Audience Hall (Dār al-Sulṭān) where he held audiences, while Ibn Makhlad rode off to the residence of Qabīḥah, the mother of al-Mu'tazz, for he was her secretary. Abū Nūḥ, in turn, was present at the pal- [1707] ace[285] while al-Mu'tazz was asleep. When he woke up towards the middle of the day he gave them permission (to enter). Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf then attacked Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl, saying to al-Mu'tazz, "O Com-

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284. For this area of the Sāmarrā region, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 175 and Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 264.

285. It is not clear which palace. It was probably the residence of al-Mu'tazz.

mander of the Faithful, the Turks are not being paid, and there is no money in the treasury. Ibn Isrā'īl and his companions have carted away all the money in the world." Aḥmad retorted, "O you disobedient son of a disobedient father." They continued to exchange words until Ṣāliḥ fell unconscious, whereupon water was sprinkled on his face. When his followers, who were at the door, heard about that, they cried out in unison and unsheathed their swords, entering upon al-Mu'tazz with weapons drawn. When al-Mu'tazz saw that, he left them and entered (his chamber). It was then that Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf seized Ibn Isrā'īl, Ibn Makhlad and 'Īsā b. Ibrāhīm. He shackled them with heavy iron chains and carried them off to his residence. Before they were taken away, al-Mu'tazz interceded with Ṣāliḥ saying, "Grant me Aḥmad, for he is my secretary, and he raised me." But Ṣāliḥ refused and then hit Ibn Isrā'īl until his teeth were broken. Ibn Makhlad was thrown to the ground and administered one hundred lashes. 'Īsā b. Ibrāhīm had been phlebotomized and he was now cuffed about until blood began to run from the sides of his neck *(maḥājim)*. They were not released until they had signed (a statement) promising large sums of money that were to be collected in installments. A group of Turks went to Iskāf[286] to fetch Ja'far b. Maḥmūd, but al-Mu'tazz said, "As for Ja'far, I have nothing to do with him, nor will he work for me." They went off and al-Mu'tazz sent for Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād al-Marwazī. He was brought to the Caliph so that the latter might appoint him wazīr. He also sent for Isḥāq b. Manṣūr, and he was
[1708] brought into the Caliph's presence. Qabīḥah interceded with Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf on behalf of Ibn Isrā'īl, saying, "You either bring him to al-Mu'tazz, or I will ride to you myself on his behalf."

The following reasons were also reported for this turn of events. The Turks had requested their allotments and made that the pretext for their (actions). Messengers went back and forth between them and those secretaries until Abū Nūḥ said to Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, "This is your plotting against the Caliph." It was then that Ṣāliḥ fell unconscious on account of the furious anger that overtook him; he remained unconscious until they sprinkled water on his face. When

286. Also known as Iskāf Banū Junayd, and located east of Baghdad on the Nahrawān Canal. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 59–60.

he came to, there were many words exchanged in front of al-Muʿtazz until they all went out to pray, and Ṣāliḥ remained alone with al-Muʿtazz. Then the people were summoned, and shortly thereafter they entered a pavilion in the courtyard. Then Abū Nūḥ and Ibn Makhlad were summoned, and their swords and caps *(qalansūwah)* were taken away while their garments were torn. Ibn Isrāʾīl now encountered the Turks and threw himself at their mercy, but they made him their third victim.[287] The secretaries were then taken out into the hallway and mounted on donkeys and mules, each accompanied by a Turk who rode behind him. They were all sent to Ṣāliḥ's residence along the Ḥayr Road.[288] When Ṣāliḥ left after a while, the Turks dispersed and went on their way. Several days later, each man was shackled with thirty *raṭl* of iron on his feet and twenty on his neck, and they were asked for the money. None of them had any response. Their situation went unresolved until the arrival of Rajab (June 15–July 14, 869), when the Turks sent (word) to seize their estates and their residences, the estates of their relatives, and their property. They were labeled "the treacherous secretaries *(al-kuttāb al-khawanah).*" Jaʿfar b. Maḥmūd arrived on [1709] Thursday, the tenth of Jumādā II (May 26, 869), and was given supreme command.

On the second of Rajab (June 16, 869), ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar and ʿAlī b. Zayd, the descendants of al-Ḥasan, rebelled in al-Kūfah and killed ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā.

On the twenty-seventh of Rajab, 255 (July 11, 869), al-Muʿtazz was deposed. His death was made public on the second of Shaʿbān (July 16, 869). The circumstances of his deposition were reportedly as follows. When the Turks acted as they did to the aforementioned secretaries and the latter did not acknowledge them, they went to al-Muʿtazz asking for their allotments. "Give us our allotments and we will kill Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf for you," they said. Al-Muʿtazz then sent to his mother asking her to give him the funds to pay them. She responded, "I have none." The Turks and the regular army at Sāmarrā saw that the secretaries had refused to give them anything. At the same time, they found nothing in the treasury, and al-Muʿtazz and

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287. The text is *thullitha bi-hi,* that is, "he was made their third."
288. For this road in Sāmarrā, see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān,* 263.

his mother had already refused and denied them completely. The Turks, the Farāghinah and the Maghāribah therefore united and agreed to depose al-Muʿtazz.

They went to him on the twenty-seventh of Rajab. One of the Sulṭān's[289] relations mentioned that he was with Niḥrīr al-Khādim in the palace of al-Muʿtazz on the day they came for him. The Ca-
[1710] liph was shaken only by the shouts of the people of al-Karkh and al-Dūr. Then suddenly, Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, Bāyakbāk and Muḥammad b. Bughā, the one known as Abū Naṣr, entered with their weapons and stood by the door of the residence where al-Muʿtazz was staying. They sent word to him, "Come out to us." He sent word back, saying, "I took a medicine yesterday which has caused me to panic twelve times. I am so weak that I cannot talk. If it is an urgent matter, let one of you enter and inform me of it; let him see for himself why the matter which interests you is at a standstill." A group of the people from al-Karkh and al-Dūr, the lieutenants of the commanders, came in and dragged him to the room's door.

The source of this account also reported the following. I thought that they had already beaten him with clubs, for he came out with his shirt torn in several places and traces of blood on his shoulders. They stood him in the sun in the palace at that time when the heat is oppressive. I saw him lift his foot time and again due to the heat of the place where he had been made to stand. I also saw some of them slap him, as he tried to protect himself with his hand. They started to call out, "Take it off."[290] Then they brought him into a room connected by a door to his own room—this was the room where Mūsā b. Bughā used to stay when he was there. Following that, they sent for Ibn Abī al-Shawārib, who was admitted together with a group of his men. Ṣāliḥ and his followers then said, "Write a letter of deposition for him." He responded, "I can't do a good job of that." An Iṣbahānī who was accompanying him said, "I will write it." He wrote the letter, and they witnessed it and then departed. Ibn Abī al-
[1711] Shawārib now said to Ṣāliḥ, "They bore witness that his sister, his son and his mother shall be given safe conduct." Ṣāliḥ either sig-

289. For this usage of the term *sulṭān* to indicate a specific person rather than authority in general, see Tyan, *Institutions*, II, 12f.

290. Reference is to the Prophet's cloak as part of the caliph's symbols of authority. See n. 211, above.

naled with his head or answered, "Yes." They appointed men to guard the Caliph's company *(majlis)* and some women to watch over his mother. It was reported that Qabīḥah had dug a tunnel in the house in which she lived, and that she managed to leave through this tunnel together with Qurb[291] and the sister of al-Muʿtazz. The troops had blocked the roads around her, preventing people from passing through as of the day they did what they did to al-Muʿtazz. That was from Monday until Wednesday, the last day of Rajab (July 11–13, 869).[292]

After he had been deposed, he was reportedly given over to someone who tortured him, and he was forbidden food and water for three days. Even when he requested a mouthful of well water, it was denied to him. Finally, they plastered a small vault with heavy plaster, put him in it and shut the door behind him.[293] By the next morning he had expired. That took place on the second day of Shaʿbān, 255 (July 16, 869). When he died, Banū Hāshim and the generals bore witness to his death and testified that he had no scars on his body. He was buried with al-Muntaṣir in an area of the Ṣawāmiʿ Palace.

His caliphate, from the day when the oath of allegiance was rendered to him in Sāmarrā until he was deposed, was four years, six months and twenty-three days. He was twenty-four years of age when he died.

He was tall in stature. He had a white complexion and thick dark [1712]
hair. His eyes were beautiful, his face was narrow and handsome, and he had reddish cheeks. He was born in Sāmarrā.

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291. Qabīḥah's maid. See p. 1647, 1658 above of the Leiden edition.

292. There is some discrepancy in this date, for the last day of Rajab fell on a Friday, the fifteenth of July 869. July 11–13, 869 are retained, however, on the assumption that the events took place during that week.

293. See n. 252, above.

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